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It cannot be necessary to enumerate the miscellaneous books which have been consulted and compared, during the preparation of this volume ; but it may be proper to state the principal authorities, which are as follow :—

1. *The Life and Correspondence of Archbishop Usher*, by Dr. Richard Parr, (sometime Rector of Camberwell,) his chaplain, friend, and frequent companion, during the thirteen latter years of his life.—*The Sermon preached at the Archbishop's funeral*, (by command of Cromwell,) by Dr. Nicholas Bernard, who was his domestic chaplain in Ireland.—*Dr. Aikin's Life of Usher*.—*Bayle's Dictionary*.

2. *The Life of Hammond*, by his friend Bishop Fell.—*Biographia Britannica*.

3. *The Life of Bishop Wilson*, by the Rev. C. Cruttwell, compiled from authentic papers communicated by the Bishop's son.—*Life of Bishop Wilson*, by the Rev. Hugh Stowell, comprising all the materials of the above work, with some additional anecdotes collected in the Isle of Man.

4. *Mr. Evelyn's Diary and Letters*.—*A Critique on the Diary*, in the *Quarterly Review*, vol. xix, commonly attributed to Mr. Southey.—*Biographia Britannica*.—*Chalmers's Biographical Dictionary*.



ARCHBISHOP CRANMER.

THE
LIVES
OF
JAMES USHER, D.D.
ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH;
HENRY HAMMOND, D.D.
RECTOR OF PENSHURST, KENT;
THOMAS WILSON, D.D.
BISHOP OF SODOR AND MAN;
AND
JOHN EVELYN, ESQ.
AUTHOR OF "SYLVA," &c.

By THE REV. RICHARD B. HONE, M.A.
CURATE OF PORTSMOUTH.

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Since good men while they are alive have their conversation in heaven, when they are in heaven it is also fit that they should in their good names live upon earth.—*Jeremy Taylor*

PREFACE.

THE paths of good and pious men are commonly so full of peace, and the sorrows which befall them so mercifully softened and blessed by a sacred influence, that few more engaging or successful methods of recommending the fear and love of God have been discovered, than the circulation of religious biography. With the desire of promoting so good a cause, by the blessing of God, the writer has prepared this volume ; and he hopes that he may have given a fresh interest to the Memoirs it contains, by the collation of former Lives of the individuals whose characters are delineated, and the addition of new matter gleaned from their own writings, as well as from many volumes of contemporary Biography and History.

He was induced to select, out of the great cloud of witnesses who encompass us, the names of *Usher*, *Hammond*, and *Wilson*, — partly because their examples seemed to be invested with a more than ordinary persuasiveness, owing to their delightful union of social virtues with heartfelt piety, — and partly because the best sources of information respecting them were accessible to him through the kindness of friends.

In searching for memorials of *Usher* and *Hammond*, he was led to the Diary of *Evelyn*, where, struck with the air of piety pervading the beautiful sketch of his daughter's character, he was allured into a more atten-

tive perusal of that Journal ; and there found so much to love, to admire, and to imitate, which had not appeared in any other account, that he thought it might not be without profit to bring the placid life of its excellent author more immediately under the notice of Christian families.

If each of these Memoirs should be the means of diffusing but one useful suggestion, the writer feels that he will not have laboured in vain. He therefore commends to the serious attention of his readers, the prayer of the pious Archbishop ; *O Lord forgive me, especially my sins of omission !* — the memorable advice of the amiable Hammond to the young ; *Withstand the first overtures of sin, be intent and serious in what is good, and make choice of a wise and virtuous friend ;* — the question of the good Bishop Wilson ; *Have you set up an Altar in your house ?* — and the last recorded declaration of the accomplished Evelyn ; *That all is vanity which is not honest, and that there is no solid wisdom but in real piety.*

R. B. H.

Portsmouth, Sep. 30, 1833.

In this Second Edition some verbal corrections and a few additions have been made. The writer cannot allow this opportunity to pass without expressing the pleasure with which he reflects that the eminent examples portrayed in his pages have already obtained a large share of public attention. May their light continue to shine before men, and to encourage and instruct the christian pilgrim in the way to his home !

Feb. 10, 1834.

THE LIFE
OF
ARCHBISHOP USHER.



1580 — 1656.

CHAPTER I.

HIS EARLY YEARS.

If thou would'st reap in joy,
First sow in holy fear ;
So life a winter's morn may prove
To a bright endless year. — *Christian Year.*

THERE is something more transitory in the nature of literary distinction than is commonly imagined. The successful labours of a whole life, employed in the most arduous research, enable succeeding students to advance by an easy ascent to the height at which the earlier traveller had arrived with much toil and fatigue ; they avail themselves of the paths which he has devoted his days and nights to make smooth and free, and their time and strength are reserved for further enterprises. Thus one man labours, and others enter into his labour ; and the meed of public applause which he enjoyed for a season is transferred to those who have lengthened the track which he first opened, and which he made it easy for them to traverse.

In this way the works of many authors, who have contributed largely to the great stores of knowledge available

to us, retire gradually from general use. But we ought not to allow that those who have so toiled in our behalf should be forgotten, or known only by name ; their thoughts, their arguments, the facts they have searched out, have not been lost to us, but live, not perhaps in the spot where they implanted them, but with no less usefulness in the works and the words of others ; and, by thus beautifying and fertilising the literature with which we are conversant, they have imperceptibly conferred a benefit upon us, and deserve to be had in remembrance.

It is thus with regard to archbishop Usher. Although the volumes to which he entrusted the fruits of his researches into the obscure periods of history and chronology are for the most part left in the dust and cobwebs of unfrequented libraries, his arguments and discoveries, far from lying dormant, have given strength and usefulness to a multitude of books, from his own times to the present. The application and study of his life have made valuable contributions to our stores of knowledge, which alone are sufficient to entitle his name to be preserved from oblivion.

But these pages would not have been the receptacles of such a memorial, were it not that his christian virtues were as eminent as his talents and acquirements. His piety, gentleness, humility, and charity, are recorded in terms of unqualified admiration ; and although the sources of information on these points are far more meagre than they ought to have been, yet they are sufficient to afford reason for hoping that his example, as seen in their descriptions and occasional anecdotes, may be productive of salutary effects upon the hearts and minds both of the wise and simple.

If Dr. Parr, the friend and companion of his latter years,

to whom we are indebted for the fullest account of his life, had known the great value of characteristic anecdotes, domestic history, and conversational remarks, in giving a finish to the descriptive portrait drawn by the biographer, he would have embellished his memoir more abundantly with such illustrations, and would have enabled us to present to our readers a more living likeness of the pious christian and accomplished scholar, whose name stands at the head of these pages.

The family of the Ushers had settled in Ireland so early as the reign of king John, during which, one of the archbishop's ancestors accompanied that prince into the island, in the capacity of usher. Some circumstances induced him not to return with the court, and in his new residence he dropped his original name of Nevil, and assumed that of the honourable situation which he then relinquished. This practice of changing names was not uncommon at that period. Down to the times of which we are about to speak, the family still remained in the neighbourhood of Dublin, where the first Usher had fixed his abode ; and many of them occupied situations of honour and trust.

James Usher, the subject of this memoir, was born on the fourth day of January 1580. His father, Mr. Arnold Usher, was one of the Six Clerks of Chancery, and was much respected for his prudence and integrity. His mother, was Margaret, the daughter of James Stanyhurst, a person of great wisdom and integrity, who was a Master in Chancery, Recorder of the city of Dublin, and Speaker of the Irish House of Commons in three parliaments; and whose country owed him much gratitude for his efforts to procure the establishment of the present college and university of Dublin, since it was he who at that time first pressed the subject upon the attention of parliament,

and afterwards of queen Elizabeth. Richard Stanyhurst, this gentleman's son, was a zealous adherent of the popish religion : and, being likewise an accomplished scholar, was at one time engaged in controversy with his nephew Usher.* His mother, also, in later life, went over to the Romish religion, to the great sorrow of her son.

Henry Usher, his paternal uncle, was a distinguished person. He was archbishop of Armagh, and as he was pleased with the design of planting a university in Dublin, so he used his best endeavours to promote its growth and success.

Ambrose Usher, the brother of James, is said to have made great proficiency in the Oriental languages, and to have translated much of the Old Testament from the original Hebrew into English, before our authorised translation was made. He was also well versed in the

* Richard Stanyhurst was a person of some note. It appears from Warton's *History of English Poetry*, that after changing his religion he went abroad, and having taken holy orders, became chaplain to the archduke of Austria. Besides some learned disquisitions, he published a translation of the first four books of the *Æneid* into English hexameter verse, which was printed at London in 1583, together with some Latin and English Epitaphs, one of which was written on the death of his father, Mr. James Stanyhurst. His versification is of a very inferior order, and was described by a contemporary writer as a "lumbering, boisterous, and wallowing measure." Mr. Scuthey observes upon these productions, "It seems impossible that a man could have written in such a style without intending to burlesque what he was about, and yet it is certain that Stanyhurst intended to write heroic poetry. His version is exceedingly rare, and deserves to be reprinted for its incomparable oddity."

He was, however, a good scholar, and "left many theological, philosophical, and historical books." His Latin *Descriptio Hiberniæ* appears in the first volume of Hollinshed's *Chronicles*. He is styled by Camden "noble and most learned," and is said to have been caressed for his literature and politeness by many foreign princes. He died at Brussels in 1618.

Arabic tongue. His friends entertained great hopes that he would rise to eminence in the world of letters, but they were frustrated by his early death. Some of his writings, however, were published, and his opinions are occasionally quoted as good authority.

But, however highly the family were favoured with intellectual endowments, James was to be its brightest ornament ; and happily the charge of moulding his character in childhood fell into very excellent hands. Two maiden aunts had been blind from their cradles, but the darkness did not extend itself to their minds. From the Bible they had learned in whatsoever state they were therewith to be content ; by the Bible they had been taught that there was one treasure for the possession of which they might be grateful, even if they should suffer the loss of all things ; from the Bible they had derived not only consolation but happiness : and they were able to repeat by heart a considerable portion of its contents. How could the soil be prepared with greater hope of a rich harvest than by being entrusted to such pious care ?

These amiable ladies devoted themselves to the training of their young nephew ; and they soon found that they had good ground to work upon, for his disposition was quiet and docile, his memory strong, and his talents of considerable promise, even at an early age ; and they had the satisfaction of observing that the blessing of God attended their anxious labours, by conveying to his youthful mind some strong religious impressions.

He lived to understand the importance of bringing up children in the way of righteousness ; and accounted it a great mercy that he had not been suffered to fall into those habits of forgetfulness of God, which, where youth is neglected, so often end in hopeless impiety. His memory often recurred to the kindness of these earliest and

best of his friends, with feelings of the fondest and most grateful affection.

At the age of ten, James Usher was sent to a grammar-school, which was then kept in Dublin by Mr. Fullerton and Mr. Hamilton.

The history of these gentlemen, as related by Dr. Parr, is rather curious. They were Scotchmen, whom king James sent over, previous to the death of queen Elizabeth, for the purpose of keeping up a correspondence with the chief protestants residing in or near Dublin, with a view of securing their good-will after her decease. Being of course enjoined to conceal their business and quality, (for they appear to have been highly connected,) and possessing considerable capabilities as scholars, they opened a school in Dublin.*

Their young pupil was remarkable for his diligence, and manifested a great desire for knowledge; and he soon gained the esteem of his instructors by his proficiency in Latin, rhetoric, and poetry. In after-life he frequently acknowledged himself to be deeply indebted to their attention and ability in conducting his education, and would mention it amongst the providences of God towards him, that persons who had been led to Dublin by such fortuitous circumstances should have been made the instruments of so much good to him.

At this period of his life he was a great lover of poetry, but he told Dr. Parr that he soon restrained that taste, from an idea that to indulge it would interrupt his more serious and important studies.

History is generally pleasing to the youthful mind, and seems to have been particularly interesting to young

* When king James came to the throne of England, he knighted Mr. Fullerton, and appointed him to a post of distinction in the royal household. He created Mr. Hamilton viscount Clancibois.

Usher. He thirsted for a knowledge of the occurrences of past times, and the pleasure which he experienced in the perusal of a work by Sleidan, made him resolve to enter upon "the study and search of antiquity, and all sorts of learning;" and he prosecuted his enquiries with spirit, and with far greater success than might have been expected, for Dr. Parr states that there was a great "scarcity of good books and learned men" in Ireland at that time.

In the year 1593, Trinity college was finished and opened for the reception of students, and at the beginning of the roll was placed the name of James Usher, who had then attained the age of thirteen. Here he had the advantage of continuing his studies under the guidance of Mr. Hamilton, who was appointed to the first fellowship in the college.

Still pursuing his studies with renewed application and pleasure, he devoted himself to the acquisition of classical and scientific knowledge; and at the age of sixteen had made such progress in ecclesiastical history, antiquity, and chronology, that he completed the first draught of that great work, *The Annals of the Old and New Testament*, which afterwards spread his fame throughout Europe.

The subjects which principally occupied his thoughts at this period seemed to show that he had made choice of the sacred profession of a minister of Jesus Christ rather than of the law, which his father had wished him to pursue; and on the death of that parent, in August 1598, being left to decide for himself, he determined without hesitation to prepare himself for the work of the ministry.

Soon after the loss of his father, he gave a striking proof of his disinterestedness and brotherly affection. A

considerable estate then came into his possession, which he at once proceeded to share with his brother and sisters, reserving for himself only so much as would maintain him at college, and place at his command a small annual sum for the purchase of books.

Surrounded as he was by popery, having relations who adhered to that faith, and meeting frequently with books which advocated the Romish religion, his attention was naturally turned towards that subject. A book entitled *The Fortress of Faith*, written by a Romanist named Stapleton, was much circulated at that time, and came into the hands of our young student, while he was an under-graduate of the university. On the perusal of that work a suspicion was awakened in his mind, that the author had not fairly stated, or honestly quoted, the opinions of the Fathers; and this suspicion led him to resolve to scrutinize the matter for his own satisfaction, and, with this view, if God should spare his life, to "read the Fathers all over, and trust none but his own eyes in the search of them." This stupendous undertaking he was spared to accomplish. Commencing at twenty years of age with the Fathers of the first century, he read a certain portion every day in chronological order, till at the end of eighteen years he had completed this laborious task.

Writing to his uncle, he gave the following account of the studies in which he was then engaged. "The principal part of my study is at this time employed in perusing the writings of the Fathers, and observing out of them the doctrine of the ancient church; wherein I find it very necessary that the reader should be thoroughly informed touching his authors, what time they lived, and what works are truly, what falsely, attributed to them; either of which being mistaken must of force bring great confusion in this kind of study."

But, before this, he had reflected and read much upon the subject, and had even disputed with some of the most distinguished of the popish priests. Before the age of twenty, the protestants singled him out as their representative against a learned jesuit, named Fitzsymonds, who had sent out a challenge defying "the greatest champion and best learned, to dispute with him about the points in controversy between the Roman and Reformed churches."

That so young a man should have been fixed upon to defend the sacred cause of truth, against errors supported by subtilty and ingenuity, is a strong proof of the high estimation in which his talents and acquirements were held.

It was agreed that the disputants should meet once a week in a room in Dublin castle, which should be open to the public; and the jesuit entered into the contest without any apprehension of defeat. It appears, however, that after one or two conferences, he retired from the field; and, not liking to own himself vanquished, gave out that he did not choose to waste his time in disputing with a boy. This came to young Usher's ears, and he wrote a letter to Fitzsymonds, in which, after making a reference to the battle between David and the Philistine, he proceeds, "I would fain have you know, that I neither came then, nor now do come unto you, in any confidence of any learning that is in me, in which respect, notwithstanding, I thank God I am what I am; but I came in the name of the Lord of Hosts whose companies you have reproached, being certainly persuaded that even out of the mouths of babes and sucklings he is able to show forth his own praises." And then, after proposing that the discussion should proceed as at first intended, he concludes his letter by "praying the Lord

that both this, and all other enterprises that we take in hand, may be so ordered as may most make for the advancement of his own glory and the kingdom of his Son Jesus Christ."

The discussion does not appear to have been renewed ; but that the jesuit had not a mean opinion of his opponent's talents may be inferred from an admission which he afterwards made in one of his works. " There came to me once," he says, " a youth of about eighteen years of age, of a ripe wit, when scarce, as you would think, gone through his course of philosophy, or got out of his childhood, yet ready to dispute on the most abstruse point of divinity." And at a later period he confessed that Mr. Usher was a profound scholar, and pronounced him " the most learned person out of the catholic church.*

In due course Usher took the degree of bachelor of arts ; and, in the year 1600, he proceeded to that of master of arts, being then twenty years old. In the same year he was appointed catechist-reader in the college, the duties of which office he discharged with manifest advantage to his pupils, and credit to himself.

Thus far, then, we have followed him in the prosecution of his studies, and have seen reason to believe that he was endued with more than the ordinary talents of his contemporaries, and that hitherto he had not gone into the field of enquiry without gathering such fruits as he could turn to good account. But we may know more than this. There is evidence that he felt the importance of religion being in the heart as well as the head.

He had been much impressed by some of the books which were put into his hands, and was careful from his youth up to sanctify the Lord's day. From the age of fourteen he had received the holy communion, and it

* *Acatholicorum doctissimus.*

was his custom to devote the preceding afternoon to the exercises of prayer, reflection, and self-examination.

At this early period of his life, he was collecting from various sources, and arranging in their proper order, those papers which were afterwards published under the title of *A Body of Divinity*, and through which there breathes an exalted reverence for the eternal Jehovah, a settled belief in the great evangelical doctrines of the atonement and grace, and a fervent spirit of devotion.

Dr. Bernard informs us that, "by reason of the scarcity of preachers," even in Dublin, "three young men of the college" were appointed to preach in Christ Church cathedral before the State; and that amongst these was Mr. Usher, who was desired to treat of some of the popish errors. But he soon after desisted, from a conviction of the impropriety of thus ministering in public, without having received ordination. His manner, however, of performing the duty thus imposed upon him, and his lectures as catechist-reader, seemed to hold out such promise of his usefulness as a divine, and his character as a christian seemed now to be so well established, that his friends importuned him to defer no longer to offer himself a candidate for holy orders. He appears to have hesitated at first to comply with their wishes, on account of his youth. But after a while he determined to devote himself to the service of his Master and Saviour, and was set apart for that sacred purpose by his uncle, the archbishop of Armagh.

He did not, however, undertake a parochial charge, to which his avocations in the college would not have permitted him to attend sufficiently; but resumed his former course at Christ Church, or, according to Dr. Bernard, at St. Catherine's; and, as the papists were about that time constrained to attend protestant places of worship,

(in the vain hope that the people might thus be brought over to the reformed religion,) he is said to have handled the subject with so much force and prudence as to settle the faith of many waverers, and to convert several papists from superstition to the truth.

Mr. Usher's reputation as a scholar and a divine was now well established; and his general knowledge of literature was so highly appreciated, that when, in 1603, the English army in Ireland subscribed 1800*l.* towards the library of the university, he was appointed to accompany Dr. Chaloner, another of the fellows, to London, and in conjunction with him to lay out that sum to the best advantage. It is singular enough that, while executing this commission in the English metropolis, they chanced to meet sir Thomas Bodley, who was also in search of scarce and valuable books for his newly erected library in the university of Oxford. Mr. Usher's character and merits prepared the way for still further advancement. Dr. Loftus, the archbishop of Dublin, and formerly provost of the college, made him chancellor of St. Patrick's cathedral; and as the emoluments of this preferment were derived from the parish of Finglas, Mr. Usher thought fit to endow the vicarage, and made a point of preaching there every Sunday, as well as in his course at the cathedral. The addition thus made to his income enabled him to increase his library.

In 1607, Camden the antiquary was in Dublin, gathering materials for the description of that city, which he afterwards printed in the last edition of his *Britannia*. He concludes that account by stating, that he owes most of his information to "the diligence and labour of James Usher, chancellor of St. Patrick's, who in various learning and judgment far exceeds his years."

In the same year he took the degree of bachelor of

divinity, and soon afterwards, at the early age of twenty-six, was chosen professor of divinity in the university, the duties of which important office he discharged with zeal and usefulness during thirteen years.

Surrounded as he was by popery, and now holding a conspicuous place in the front ranks of protestantism, we need not be surprised to learn that the professor's efforts were mainly directed to give stability to the reformed religion, which he successfully identified with the faith originally delivered to the saints.

His literary tastes induced him to visit England in the year 1609, for the purchase of books and the conversation of learned men. This visit he afterwards repeated about once in three years, when he usually passed a month at Oxford, another at Cambridge, and the remainder of his time in London; and wherever he went, he obtained access to the best public and private collections.

As he possessed an income adequate to his wants, and was unwilling to admit of any encroachments being made upon his hours of study, he declined to accept the provostship of the college when it was offered to him, fearing that the duties of that situation would expose him to many interruptions.

In 1613, the thirty-second year of his age, he took the degree of D. D. and amongst the preparatory exercises read two lectures, one on Dan. ix. 24, the other on Rev. xx. 4; and in these he took occasion to explain those texts, "so misapplied by the Millenaries, both in elder and later times."

Among the memorials which remain to us we look in vain for any particulars relative to this period of his life, except such as are connected with his learned occupations. On that point, however, we find sufficient evi-

dence that he was engaged in investigations of material importance to the Church of Christ. In the year 1614, being in London, he published his first *Treatise on the State and Succession of the Christian Churches*. This work was distinguished by being prefaced with laudatory verses by the learned Casaubon and Scultetus, and was presented by archbishop Abbot to king James, as the first fruits of the university of Dublin.

The design of this work was to answer the objection of the papists implied in their enquiry, 'Where our religion was before Luther.' And he proves from authors of undoubted credit, that even in the darkest and most ignorant times, Christ has always had a visible Church, untainted with the errors and corruptions of Romanism. and that these islands do not owe their christianity to Rome. This learned disquisition has been of great service to all later writers; its main positions have never been refuted; and further investigation has confirmed many of his opinions, particularly that there exist several Christian Churches, which have always rejected the doctrines of popery, refused submission to its authority, and escaped extermination or apostasy under its persecutions.

Dr. Usher's work was only carried down to the latter part of the fourteenth century. In a letter written a few years after its publication, he speaks of his intention of filling up what is wanting to complete the work. "I purpose," he says, "to publish the whole work together, much augmented, but do first expect the publication of my uncle Stanyhurst's answer to the former, which I hear, since his death, is sent to Paris to be printed." The remaining period, however, was never completed, owing in some measure to the loss of his papers, during the unhappy disorders which rent society in the latter part of his life.

About the same time he married the orphan daughter of his friend Dr. Chaloner. That gentleman was descended from an ancient family in Yorkshire, and was a learned and pious man. He had been a great benefactor to the college, and took a deep interest in all that concerned its welfare ; and therefore he watched with pleasure the honour that accrued to it from the fame of one of its earliest members. He also entertained a very high opinion of the private worth of Dr. Usher, and as he lay upon his death-bed he spoke to his daughter of a hope very near his heart, that she might one day become the wife of his friend. Not long afterwards, the good man's wishes were accomplished ; but of his daughter's character we have scarcely any intimation. Dr. Parr, who must have known her well towards the close of her life, scarcely mentions her at all, and no family letters are found in that portion of Dr. Usher's correspondence which was published. For forty years, however, they participated in many vicissitudes of fortune, and in their deaths they were not long divided, since her husband survived her only about eighteen months. They had one child, a daughter, who was married to sir Timothy Tyrrel, and will be mentioned again in these pages.

Dr. Usher now passed several years in the enjoyment of a growing reputation. His fame had reached the Continent, and the most eminent persons at home and abroad consulted him on doubtful points of learning and theology, and were ambitious of his acquaintance and correspondence.

His character as a scholar, a divine, and a christian, marked him as a fit person to fill some distinguished office in the church ; and his advancement to a bishopric, and his conduct in that distinguished situation, will be the subject of the ensuing chapter.

CHAPTER II.

HIS PROMOTION —CARE OF HIS DIOCESE.

I venerate the man whose heart is warm,
Whose hands are pure, whose doctrine and whose life
Coincident, exhibit lucid proof
That he is honest in the sacred cause. — *Couper.*

THE dawning of the Reformation was hailed with joy in England by multitudes of every class; but, "in Ireland," as Leland remarks, "it was tendered to a prejudiced and a reluctant people." Perpetual domestic warfare had left them little time for any kind of improvement, and they were in a state of extreme rudeness and ignorance, which made them unfit, as well as unwilling, to enter upon a discussion of the great points in controversy. Considerable numbers of the priests, attached to their church, abandoned their wretched cures rather than forsake it; and they taught the people to believe that the attempt to change their religion was a fresh cause for hating the English government: reminded them how venerable popery had become by its antiquity, and fenced it round by extreme maledictions against innovation and heresy.

Unhappily, no such zeal was manifested by the professors of a purer faith. "Hard it is," said a chancellor of Ireland, in the reign of Edward the sixth, "that men should know their duties to God and to the king, when they shall not hear teaching or preaching throughout the year." It seems probable that the only protestant clergy who could speak the language of the country were those who had conformed to the protestant doctrine for the

sake of retaining their benefices, who readily returned to popery in the reign of Mary, and as easily made one more change in their profession on the accession of Elizabeth. In such hands, and even they were few, the cause of the truth was not likely to prosper; and the persons of English or Scottish descent, who were afterwards ordained, could not converse with the people in the mother-tongue. The total number of the protestant clergy was quite inadequate to afford ministers even for half the livings in the island; and Leland, and others, represent their moral character and mental attainments in no very favourable light. The difficulty of printing the Irish language, and the paucity of those who could read it, presented a further obstacle to the diffusion of divine truth; and the benefices were miserably impoverished, the glebe-houses falling to decay, and the churches themselves too often in ruins. Well might sir Henry Sydney write to queen Elizabeth, "Your majesty may believe it, that, upon the face of the earth where Christ is professed, there is not a church in so miserable a case; the misery of which consisteth in these three particulars;—the ruin of the very temples themselves; the want of good ministers to serve in them, when they shall be re-edified; and competent living for the ministers, being well chosen."

All who had the interest of religion at heart mourned over this desolate state of the protestant church, and longed for the means of shedding warmth and light upon this moral wilderness. Their efforts, however, were only partially successful; in the following reigns these evils were mitigated, not removed. The complaints of bishop Bedell, in the reign of Charles the first, describe the general state of the Irish church. "I have been about my dioceses," he says, "and can set down, out of my

knowledge and view, what I shall relate; and shortly, to speak much ill matter in a few words, it is very miserable. The cathedral church of Ardagh, one of the most ancient in Ireland, and said to be built by St. Patrick, together with the bishop's house there, down to the ground. The church here built, but without bell or steeple, font, or chalice. The parish churches all in a manner ruined, unroofed, and unrepared. The people, saving a few British planters here and there, (which are not the tenth part of the remnant,) obstinate recusants. A popish clergy, more numerous by far than we, and in full exercise of all jurisdiction ecclesiastical, by their vicar-generals and officials. . . . For our own, there are seven or eight ministers in each diocese, of good sufficiency; and (which is no small cause of the continuance of the people in popery still) English, which have not the tongue of the people, nor can perform any divine offices or converse with them; and which hold, many of them, two or three, four, or more vicarages a-piece." He says, in another letter, written in the same year (1630), that in his diocese of Kilmore and Ardagh, there were sixty-six popish priests, including their bishop, while the ministers and curates of the church were only thirty-two; and laments that this great superiority in point of numbers should be given to those who already possessed immense advantages, not only in having a knowledge of the language, but likewise the prejudices of the people, and the countenance of the nobility and gentry.

Those who were anxious to improve the character of the Irish church, naturally looked in the first place to the newly established university of Dublin. But they also endeavoured to bring over from England and Scotland men of piety, zeal, and learning; and so it was that through both of these channels a strong bias towards the

doctrinal peculiarities of the puritans was diffused through the island.

“From the first beginnings of the Reformation,” says Leland, “the difficulties of finding pastors, the negligence of governors in affairs of religion, and the opposition given to every attempt to provide for the instruction of the people and the real establishment of the reformed faith and worship, gradually reduced the church of Ireland to a state of desolation;” and the obvious means of remedying this dreadful evil appeared to be to qualify the inhabitants for becoming ministers of the gospel. Hence the establishment of Trinity college in Dublin, in 1591; and Neal states that, when the university was opened about two years afterwards, it was “furnished with learned professors from Cambridge, of the calvinistic persuasion.”

The other method of advancing the protestant cause was recommended, so early as the year 1576, by sir Henry Sydney, in the letter already quoted. “In choice of ministers for the remote places,” he writes, “where the English tongue is not understood, it is most necessary that such be chosen as can speak Irish, for which search would be made first and speedily in your own universities; . . . if there be no such there, or not enough, (for I wish ten or twelve at the least) to be sent, who might be placed in offices of dignity in the church in the remote places of this realm, then I do wish that you would write to the Regent of Scotland, where, as I learn, there are many of the reformed church that are of this language, that he would prefer to your highness so many as shall seem good to you to demand, of honest, zealous, and learned men, and that could speak this language. The great desire that I have to have such from thence is, for that I hope to find them not only grave in judgment, but void of affection [partiality].”

In the reign of king James, efforts were made on a larger scale to induce some of the English clergy to settle in Ireland; but there was much to deter those who had a comfortable home from engaging in so hazardous an enterprise, when ignorance of the language debarred them from the hope of extensive usefulness: and it is probable that few went over, excepting such puritans as were tempted to accept the benefices offered to them in Ireland, to escape being persecuted in England, and some Scotch ministers, who accompanied colonies of their countrymen into the northern parts of the island.

From these circumstances it is manifest that the tenets of Calvin had many adherents in the church of Ireland; and, as they did not consider that the English articles spoke their opinions, they resolved to have a distinct confession of faith in which their sentiments might be declared, and fixed upon Dr. Usher, then Professor of Divinity in the university, to draw them up. The articles which he prepared are too minute and particular in some of their statements of abstruse and mysterious doctrines, but, as Neal says, they "passed both houses of Convocation, and Parliament, with great unanimity." The same writer reasonably considers, that they were designed to compromise the differences between the church and the puritans, and says that they had that effect till they were set aside in the year 1634.

But many of the opinions contained in this formulary were unwelcome to the English court, and attempts were made to prejudice the king against the compiler of them. It was reported to king James that Dr. Usher was a puritan; and as that was a designation which conveyed to his jealous monarch's mind the idea of a disturber of the public peace and an enemy of his kingly power, the way to Dr. Usher's promotion seemed for the present to be

closed. But in 1619 the lord deputy of Ireland, sir Oliver St. John, and his council desired him to bear a letter to the privy council of England, in which they express their desire to "set him right with his majesty," who has been informed, they hear, "that he is somewhat transported with singularities, and unaptness to be conformable to the rules and orders of the church." They then proceed to bear the following high testimony to his character and merits:—"We are so far from suspecting him in that kind, that we may holdly recommend him to your lordships, as a man orthodox and worthy to govern in the church, when occasion shall be presented. And his majesty may be pleased to advance him, he being a man who has given himself over to his profession; an excellent and painful preacher; a modest man abounding in goodness, and his life and doctrine so agreeable, as those who agree not with him are yet constrained to love and admire him!"

Soon after the delivery of this letter, the king took an opportunity of conversing with him, and was so well pleased at that interview, that he nominated him to the bishopric of Meath, which had become vacant during Dr. Usher's stay in England; observing at the same time that "Dr. Usher was a bishop of his own making; and that although, indeed, the knave puritan was a bad man, the knave's puritan was an honest man."

The lord deputy was delighted at this appointment, and wrote to the bishop elect, saying:—"I thank God for your preferment to the bishopric of Meath; his Majesty therein hath done a great favour to his poor church here; there is none here but is exceeding glad that you are called thereto; even some papists themselves have largely testified their gladness of it." From the learned Gataker, also, and other distinguished friends, he received

the warmest congratulations, mingled with prayers for his usefulness in his new charge.

Before his return to Ireland he preached before the House of Commons, on the 20th of February 1620, in St. Margaret's church, and the sermon was printed by desire of the House.

When he went back to Ireland, and had been consecrated to execute the sacred office of a bishop, he considered how he might best promote the interests of the protestant faith in his new capacity. Union, zeal, and knowledge, were the means of effecting this purpose, which he wished to combine in his clergy. His views of episcopacy were very moderate, and he studied to avoid giving offence to those who had been educated in the church of Scotland, allowing presbyters to participate with him in ordaining them, if they desired to have it so. Nay, he even carried this liberality so far, as not to eject from their benefices those who followed the Scottish system of public worship, and declined to adopt the liturgy of the church. If he had acted otherwise, he must have declared many livings void, without being able to provide ministers to serve them; and even with such assistance his diocese was very unlike the rest of Ireland, if many parishes were not still unprovided with pastors. His views of episcopacy certainly were not so exalted as those embraced by most of his brethren; but he thought that the churches which have no bishops are defective in their government, and therefore desired by some concessions to render that system less obnoxious to those who had been brought up with other prejudices, and so to strengthen the protestant cause by union. He bitterly lamented the ill conduct alleged against some of the clergy, and used all his efforts to train up a virtuous, earnest, and learned body of ministers. He took pains to be acquainted

with the characters of those who offered themselves for the ministry, and endeavoured to follow St. Paul's injunction to Timothy—"Lay hands suddenly on no man."

His opinions and advice were ever at the command of the students who were preparing for the sacred office. He recommended them to become acquainted with the early christian writers, and to read them, as he had done himself, in the order of time in which they were written, taking the Fathers and church-historians together, that they might trace the origin and growth of heresies, and judge correctly what doctrines, ceremonies, and opinions prevailed in the church in each age, and at what time, and by what means, errors and innovations were introduced. He thought that the authors of the middle ages, commonly termed schoolmen, need only be read so far as might show the state of the controversy between the Reformed and Romish churches; and warned his young scholars that the heathen philosophers ought not to be blindly followed, since they were much mistaken as to the true principles of morality, and ignorant of the means of substantial happiness, which were brought to light by the Holy Scriptures alone.

"I never heard," says Dr. Parr, "that he ordained more than one person who was not sufficiently qualified in respect of learning; and this was in so extraordinary a case, that I think it will not be amiss to give a short account of it. There was a certain English mechanic living in his diocese, who constantly frequented the public service of the church, and attained to a competent knowledge of the Scriptures, and gave himself to read what books of practical divinity he could get, and was reputed among protestants thereabouts a very honest and pious man. This man applied to Dr. Usher, and told him that he had a very earnest desire to be admitted to the minis-

try ; but the bishop refused him, advising him to go home and follow his calling, and pray to God to remove this temptation. After some time he returned again, renewing his request, and saying that he could not be at rest in his mind, but that his desires towards that calling increased more and more. Whereupon the lord primate discoursed with him, and found, upon examination, that he gave a very good account of his faith and knowledge in all the main points of religion. He then questioned him further if he could speak Irish ; for if not, his preaching would be of little use in a country where the greatest part of the people were Irish, who understood no English. The man replied, that indeed he could not speak Irish ; but that, if his lordship thought fit, he would endeavour to learn it : which he bade him do ; and as soon as he had attained the language, to come again, which he did about a twelvemonth after, telling my lord that he could now express himself tolerably well in Irish, and therefore desired ordination. Whereupon the lord primate, finding, upon examination, that he spake truth, ordained him accordingly, being satisfied that such an ordinary man was able to do more good than if he had Latin without any Irish at all. Nor was the bishop deceived in his expectation ; for this man, as soon as he had a cure, employed his talents diligently and faithfully, and proved very successful in converting many of the Irish papists to our church, and continued labouring in that work until the rebellion and massacre, wherein he hardly escaped with life.”

To those who were just about to engage in ministerial duty he gave most excellent advice ; it was in substance as follows :

“1. Read and study the Scriptures carefully, wherein is the best learning and only infallible truth. They can furnish you with the best materials for your sermons ;

the only rules for faith and practice ; the most powerful motives to persuade and convince the conscience ; and the strongest arguments to confute all errors, heresies, and schisms. Therefore, be sure, let all your sermons be congruous to them. And it is expedient that you understand them as well in the originals as in the translations.

2. Take not hastily up other men's opinions without due trial, nor vent your own conceits ; but compare them first with the analogy of faith and rules of holiness recorded in the Scriptures, which are the proper tests of all opinions and doctrines.

3. Meddle with controversies and doubtful points as little as may be in your popular preaching, lest you puzzle your hearers or engage them in wrangling disputations, and so hinder their conversion, which is the main end of preaching.

4. Insist most on those points which tend to effect sound belief, sincere love to God, repentance for sin, and that may persuade to holiness of life. Press these things home to the consciences of your hearers, as of absolute necessity, leaving no gap for evasions ; but bind them as closely as may be to their duty. And, as you ought to preach sound and orthodox doctrine, so ought you to deliver God's message as near as may be in God's words : that is, in such as are plain and intelligible, that the meanest of your auditors may understand. To which end it is necessary to back all the precepts and doctrines with apt proofs from Holy Scriptures ; avoiding all exotic phrases, scholastic terms, unnecessary quotations of authors, and forced rhetorical figures ; since it is not difficult to make easy things appear hard ; but to render hard things easy is the hardest part of a good orator as well as preacher.

5. Get your heart sincerely affected with the things

you persuade others to embrace, that so you may preach experimentally, and your hearers may perceive that you are in good earnest ; and press nothing upon them but what may tend to their advantage, and which you yourself would enter your own salvation on.

6. Study and consider well the subjects you intend to preach on, before you come into the pulpit, and then words will readily offer themselves. Yet think what you are about to say before you speak, avoiding all uncouth fantastical words or phrases, or nauseous, indecent, or ridiculous expressions, which will quickly bring your preaching into contempt, and make your sermons and person the subjects of sport and merriment.

7. Dissemble not the truths of God in any case, nor comply with the lusts of men, nor give any countenance to sin by word or deed.

8. But, above all, you must never forget to order your own conversation as becomes the gospel ; that so you may teach by example, as well as precept, and that you may appear a good divine everywhere, as well as in the pulpit ; for a minister's life and conversation is more heeded than his doctrine.

9. Yet, after all this, take heed that you be not puffed up with spiritual pride of your own virtues, nor with a vain conceit of your parts and abilities ; nor yet be transported with the applause of men, nor be dejected or discouraged by the scoffs or frowns of the wicked or profane."

"He would also," adds Dr. Parr, "exhort those who were already engaged in this holy function, and advise them how they might well discharge their duty in the church of God answerably to their calling, to this effect : You are engaged in an excellent employment in the church, and entrusted with weighty matters as stewards of our Great Master, Christ the great Bishop. Under

him, and by his commission, you are to endeavour to reconcile men to God ; to convert sinners, and build them up in the holy faith of the Gospel, that they may be saved, and that repentance and remission of sins may be preached in his name. This is of the highest importance, and requires faithfulness, diligence, prudence, and watchfulness. The souls of men are committed to our care and guidance ; and the eyes of God, angels, and men, are upon us : and great is the account we must make to our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the supreme head of his church, and will at length reward or punish his servants in this ministry of his Gospel, as he shall find them faithful or negligent. Therefore it behoves us to exercise our best talents, labouring in the Lord's vineyard with all diligence, that we may bring forth fruit, and that the fruit may remain.

“ This is the work we are separated for, and ordained unto. We must not think to be idle or careless in this office, but must bend our minds and studies, and employ all our gifts and abilities, in this service. We must preach the word of faith, that men may believe aright ; and the doctrine and laws of godliness, that men may act as becomes christians indeed. For without faith no man can please God ; and without holiness no man can enter into the kingdom of heaven.”

Dr. Bernard, one of his chaplains, after stating that the bishop always preached on Sunday mornings, adds, —“ in the afternoon this was his order to me, that, besides the catechising of the youth before public prayers, I should, after the first and second lessons, spend about half an hour in a brief and plain opening the principles of religion in the public catechism, and after that, I was to preach also. First, he directed me to go through the Creed alone, giving but the sum of each article ;

then next time at thrice : and afterwards, each time an article, as they might be more able to bear it ; and so proportionably the Ten Commandments, Lord's Prayer, and the doctrine of the Sacraments. The good fruit of which was apparent in the vulgar people upon their approach unto the communion, when, as by the then order, the names of the receivers were to be given in, so some account was constantly taken of their fitness for it."

As one who was appointed to watch, as well as to send out, the shepherds of the flock, he carefully inspected his diocese, making himself well acquainted with the characters and abilities of his clergy, by frequent personal visitations. He loved those whom he knew to be sober, diligent, and pious, rescued them from unmerited poverty as far as he was able, and protected them from injustice and misrepresentations : but he severely reprimanded those who were scandalous and vicious in their lives and conversation. He pointed out the beauty of the liturgy and the necessity of agreeing in one mode of public worship ; charged the clergy to preach and catechise diligently in their respective cures, and to make the Holy Scriptures the rule as well as the subject of their doctrines and sermons. He also corrected many of the abuses which in popish times had established themselves in the ecclesiastical courts. But he did not carry these reforms so far as many thought to be both practicable and necessary. Burnet, in his *Life of Bishop Bedell*, after speaking of Usher as one of the greatest and best men of his time, adds : — " But no man is entirely perfect ; he was not made for the governing part of his function. He had too gentle a soul to manage that rough work of reforming abuses ; and therefore he left things as he found them. He hoped a time of reformation would come. He saw the necessity of cutting off

many abuses ; and confessed that the tolerating those abominable corruptions that the canonists had brought in was such a stain upon a church that in all other respects was the best reformed in the world, that he apprehended it would bring a curse and ruin upon the whole constitution. But though he prayed for a more favourable conjuncture, and would have concurred in a joint reformation of these things very heartily, yet he did not bestir himself suitably to the obligations that lay on him for carrying it on. It was not without great uneasiness to me that I overcame myself so far as to say anything that may seem to diminish the character of so extraordinary a man, who, in other things, was beyond any man of his time, but in this only he fell beneath himself ; and those that upon all other accounts loved and admired him lamented this defect in him, which was the only allay that seemed left, and without which, he would have been held, perhaps, in more veneration than was fitting. This was necessary to be told, since history is to be writ impartially."

When any of the clergy had been led away by visionary fancies, he would treat them in a temperate and respectful manner, which engaged attention and secured esteem. A year after his appointment to the bishopric of Meath, he received a complaint that one of his clergy held some peculiar notions relative to the restoration of the Jews, and he gave the following account of his manner of proceeding in this case, in a letter which he wrote.

"I sent for the party, and, upon conference had with him, I put him in mind that his conceits were contrary to the judgment of the church of Christ from the beginning of the Gospel unto this day, and that of old they were condemned for heretical in the Nazarites. But,

finding that for the present he was not to be wrought upon by any reasoning, and that time was the only means to cure him of this sickness, I remembered what course I had heretofore held with another in this country who was so far engaged in this opinion of the calling of the Jews, (though not of the revoking of Judaism,) that he was strongly persuaded he himself should be the man that should effect this great work, and to this purpose wrote an Hebrew Epistle, (which I have still in my hands,) directed to the dispersed Jews. To reason the matter with him I found bootless; I advised him therefore that, until the Jews did gather themselves together, and make choice of him for their captain, he should labour to benefit his countrymen at home, with that skill he had attained unto in the Hebrew tongue. I wished him therefore to give us an exact translation of the Old Testament out of the Hebrew verity, which he accordingly undertook and performed. The translation I have by me, but before he had finished that task, his conceit of the calling of the Jews and his captainship over them vanished clean away, and was never heard of after.

“In like manner I dealt with Mr. Whitehall; that, forasmuch as he himself acknowledged that the Mosaical rites were not to be practised until the general calling of the Jews, he might do well, I said, to let that matter rest till then: and in the mean time keep his opinion to himself, and not bring needless trouble upon himself and others by divulging it out of season. And, whereas he had intended to write an historical discourse of the retaining of Judaism under Christianity, I counselled him rather to spend his pains in setting down the history of purgatory, or invocation of saints, or some of the other points in controversy betwixt the church of Rome and us.” This advice so far prevailed with Mr. Whitehall, that he

“ offered to bind himself to forbear intermeddling any way with his former opinions, either in public or in private, and to spend his time in any other employment that should be imposed upon him.”

The subjection of the Irish papists to foreign jurisdiction, their refusal to acknowledge the king's supremacy, and the turbulent conduct of the priests, exposed them to the constant jealousy of their rulers ; and the protestant church manifested a strong aversion to any concessions which might strengthen a cause already too well supported. The infusion of English and Scottish puritanism amongst the clergy increased their reluctance to countenance any fresh indulgences ; and sufficient occasion for such opposition seemed to be furnished by the boldness manifested by the Romish communion, whenever the state was induced by motives of policy to grant them favours, or to let the reins of government hang loosely. The popish priests and their adherents looked upon this uncertainty in the course pursued towards them as a sufficient evidence of the importance of their party ; and not being content with the liberty which they enjoyed during the reigns of James and Charles of exercising their religion almost as publicly as the protestants, they manifested their hostility to the principles of the Reformation in the most open and offensive manner, and aimed at their extermination.

On some public occasions, Dr. Usher openly expressed the feelings of the clergy respecting the conduct which the papists were suffered to pursue. At the recall of sir Oliver St. John, (soon afterwards created lord Grandison,) from the government of Ireland, in 1621, the Romanists expected from his successor some indulgences which he had not thought proper to grant ; and, elevated with these hopes, they proceeded to erect monasteries,

to seize the churches for their own worship, and to thrust out the authorized ministers of religion. Bishop Usher, as the most distinguished of the reformed clergy, and the man whose sentiments were of the greatest weight, was appointed to preach before lord Falkland, the new lord deputy, on his arrival; and took the opportunity of recommending such restraints as might keep the Romanists within the bounds of a decent reserve, and protect the protestants from public affronts and forcible ejection from their churches. But at the same time he "made public protestation," to use the language of one of his own letters, "that it was far from his mind to excite the magistrate unto any violent courses against them, as one that naturally did abhor all cruel dealings, and wished that effusion of blood might be held rather the badge of popery than of the church of God."

This sermon, however, served to irritate the papists; and they took occasion from the words of his text, *He beareth not the sword in vain*, to persuade their followers that he then declared that the sword had rusted too long in its sheath. This calumny he indignantly repelled; but, as a great clamour had been industriously excited, he followed the advice of archbishop Hampton, and preached an explanatory discourse, in which he declared the lenity of his intentions, so as to "give peace to the congregation, and glory to God."

Soon afterwards, he was appointed to enforce the nature and lawfulness of the oaths of supremacy and allegiance, before some magistrates who had been cited to the castle-chamber for refusing to take them. He treated the subject with a powerful eloquence, and, although the party were strong in their prepossessions, and moreover exulted in their numbers, power, and consequence, his arguments were attended with some success.

In 1624 literary pursuits induced the bishop to make a voyage to England ; during his stay, the archbishopric of Armagh became vacant by the death of Dr. Hampton, and Dr. Usher was immediately fixed upon to occupy that distinguished station in the church. Some time after his return, king James died, and the accession of a prince involved in foreign wars, and embarrassed by domestic factions, raised an unusual ferment among the discontented in Ireland. The time seemed favourable for the popish party to extort some concessions ; and since a considerable increase of the forces in Ireland was deemed requisite to be made, they gave lord Falkland assurances that, if some indulgences were granted to those of their religion, a voluntary contribution might be obtained for the maintenance of five thousand foot and five hundred horse.

The protestants heard with dismay that lord Falkland had not discouraged these overtures, and the new archbishop of Armagh assembled several of the Irish prelates, to determine what course they ought to pursue in this time of danger and offence, and to bear their conscientious testimony against the concession to popery meditated by the state. The result of this meeting was a protest, signed by twelve prelates, and entitled, " The judgment of divers of the archbishops and bishops of Ireland concerning toleration of religion."

This document sets forth, that to accede to the proposals of the papists is to promote the errors and superstitions of the Romish religion, to dishonour God, and mislead the ignorant ; and that to grant such favours for money is equivalent to setting religion to sale, and with it the souls of the people. It was made public at the next general meeting of the principal nobility and gentry, which took place in the early part of the year 1627, and it had a powerful effect upon the protestants.

The project being thus likely to be defeated, lord Falkland requested the archbishop to use his best endeavours to persuade the assembly to make an unconditional grant for the supply of the king's necessities ; which he accordingly did, although with but small success. He set a good example, however, by raising from his own lands a contribution towards the public service, for which he received a letter of thanks from the king's representative.

Having much to disappoint and disturb him from without, it was well for archbishop Usher that his habits were studious ; and the learned world had also reason to be satisfied.

Before his removal from the see of Meath, he had published his answer to the challenge of Malone the jesuit ; and, by desire of king James. had commenced his noble work, *De Primordiis Ecclesiarum Britannicarum*, [On the Original State of the British Churches,] which is said to be still one of the best treatises against Romanism. In 1631 he published the first Latin book ever printed in Dublin, a *History of the learned monk Gotteschalculus*, and of the predestinarian controversy which his tenets provoked. In this work the archbishop laments that men are so prone to assert their opinions in a positive manner respecting the deep mysteries of religion. About the end of the same year he published, in London, *A Treatise upon the Tenets of the ancient Irish, Northern-Scottish, and British Churches* ; which he proved to be identical, in all material points, with the Protestant faith, and far removed from the " novel and foreign doctrines introduced by the Pope in later times." A year after, he threw further light upon the same subject, by publishing a collection of ancient letters from Irish bishops and clergy, which he had taken much pains to gather from various quarters.

In 1638 he published a sermon entitled *Immanuel, or the Mystery of the Incarnation of the Son of God*, from which, as it is one of a very few which he caused to be printed, a few extracts may not be unwelcome to the reader, as showing the style of his preaching:—after noticing the union of two distinct natures in the person of Christ, and the necessity for receiving with meekness such mysterious truths as are revealed in the Bible, he proceeds thus to speak of our reconciliation with God. “How dangerous a matter it is to be at odds with God, old Eli sheweth by this main argument. *If one man sin against another, the judge shall judge him: but if a man sin against the Lord, who shall plead or entreat for him? And Job, before him, He is not a man as I am, that I should answer him, and we should come together in judgement: neither is there any days-man or umpire betwixt us, that may lay his hand upon us both.* If this general should admit no manner of exception, then were we in a woful case, and had cause to weep much more than St. John did in the Revelation; when none was found *in heaven, nor in earth, nor under the earth, that was able to open the book which he saw in the right hand of him that sat upon the throne, neither to look thereon.* But as St. John wished there to refrain his weeping, because the *Lion of the tribe of Judah, the root of David, had prevailed to open the book, and to loose the seven seals thereof:* so he himself elsewhere giveth the like comfort unto all of us in particular; *If any man sin, we have an Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous: and he is the propitiation for our sins; and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world.*

“For as there is one God, so is there *one Mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus, who gave himself a ransom for all; and who, in discharge of this his office of*

mediation, as the only fit umpire to take up this controversy, was to lay his hand as well upon God the party so highly offended, as upon man the party basely offending. *In things concerning God*, the priesthood of our Mediator is exercised. *For every high Priest is taken from among men, and ordained for men in things pertaining to God.* The parts of his priestly function are two; satisfaction and intercession; the former whereof giveth contentment to God's justice; the latter soliciteth his mercy, for the application of this benefit to the children of God in particular. Whereby it cometh to pass, that God in shewing mercy upon whom he will shew mercy, is yet for his justice no loser: being both *just, and the justifier of him which believeth in Jesus.*

“By virtue of his intercession, our mediator appeareth in the presence of God for us, and maketh request for us. To this purpose, the Apostle noteth in the 4th to the Hebrews, I. *That we have a great high Priest, that is passed into the heavens, Jesus the Son of God.* (ver. 14.) II. *That we have not an high Priest which cannot be touched with the feeling of our infirmities, but was in all things tempted as we are, yet without sin.* (ver. 15.) Betwixt the having of such, and the not having of such an Intercessor; betwixt the height of him in regard of the one, and the lowliness in regard of his other nature, standeth the comfort of the poor sinner. He must be such a suitor as taketh our case to heart: and therefore *in all things it behoved him to be made like unto his brethren, that he might be a merciful and faithful high Priest.* In which respect as it was needful he should partake with our flesh and blood, that he might be tenderly affected unto his brethren, so likewise for the obtaining of so great a suit, it behoved he should be most dear to God the Father, and have so great an interest in him, as he might always be

sure to be heard in his requests: who therefore could be no other, but he of whom the Father testified from heaven; *This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.* It was fit our Intercessor should be man, like unto ourselves; that we might boldly come to him, *and find grace to help in time of need*: it was fit he should be God, that he might boldly go to the Father without any way disparaging him, as being his fellow and equal, Zech. xiii. 7 Phil. ii. 6.

“But such was God’s love to justice, and hatred to sin, that he would not have his justice swallowed up with mercy, nor sin pardoned without the making of fit reparation. And therefore our Mediator must not look to procure for us a simple pardon without more ado; but must be a propitiation for our sins, and redeem us by fine and ransom; and so not only be the master of our requests, to entreat the Lord for us, but also take upon him the part of an Advocate, to plead full satisfaction made by himself, as our surety, unto all the debt wherewith we any way stood chargeable.”

He then proves at considerable length that Christ was able to perform this great work, and shows that the renewal of our hearts and souls is a necessary fruit and evidence of our partaking of the benefits of our Saviour’s death. In this part of the sermon he makes the following remarks;—

“Our physician must not only be able to restore us unto health, but unto life itself: which none can do but the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; one God, blessed for ever. To which purpose, these passages of our Saviour also are to be considered. *As the Father hath life in himself: so hath he given to the Son to have life in himself.* John v. 26. *As the living Father hath sent me, and I live by the Father: so he that eateth me, even he shall live by*

me. John vi. 57. *I am the living bread, which came down from heaven ; if any man eat of this bread, he shall live for ever : and the bread that I will give, is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world.* John vi. 51. The substance whereof is briefly comprehended in this saying of the Apostle : *The last Adam was made a quickening spirit,* 1 Cor. xv. 45. An Adam therefore and perfect man must he have been, that his flesh, given for us upon the cross, might be made the conduit to convey life unto the world : and a quickening spirit he could not have been unless he were God, able to make that flesh an effectual instrument of life by the operation of his blessed Spirit. For as himself hath declared, *It is the Spirit that quickeneth ; without it, the flesh would profit nothing.* John vi. 63."

The archbishop next establishes upon the authority of Scripture the necessity for our being made like unto Christ ; he also declares our Saviour to be a fountain that cannot be exhausted, a "well-spring of grace that cannot be diminished," because *it pleased the Father that in Him all fulness should dwell.* He then proceeds thus :—

"We are yet further to take it into our consideration, that by thus enlivening and fashioning us according to his own image, Christ's purpose was not to raise a seed unto himself dispersedly and distractedly, but to *gather together in one, the children of God that were scattered abroad ;* yea and to bring all unto one head by himself, both them which are in heaven and them which are on the earth ; that as in the tabernacle the veil divided between the holy place and the most holy ; but the curtains which covered them both were so coupled together with the taches, that it might still be one tabernacle, so the church militant and triumphant, typified thereby, though distant as far the one from the other as heaven is from earth, yet is made but one tabernacle in Jesus Christ, *in whom*

all the building fitly framed together groweth unto a holy temple in the Lord, and in whom all of us are builded together for an habitation of God through the Spirit. Eph. ii. 21, 22. The bond of this mystical union betwixt Christ and us is on his part that quickening Spirit, which being in him as the head, is from thence diffused to the spiritual animation of all his members; and on our part faith, which is the prime act of life wrought in those who are capable of understanding by that same Spirit. Both whereof must be acknowledged to be of so high a nature, that none could possibly by such ligatures knit up so admirable a body, but he that was God Almighty. And therefore although we did suppose such a man might be found who should perform the law for us, suffer the death that was due to our offences and overcome it, yea and whose obedience and sufferings should be of such value, that it were sufficient for the redemption of the whole world, yet could it not be efficient to make us live by faith, unless that man had been able to send God's Spirit to apply the same unto us."

To these quotations one more passage may be added, in which he justly traces all the fruits of ministerial labour to their only source. "All other prophets and apostles can do no more but plant and water, only God can give the increase. They may teach indeed and baptize, but unless Christ were with them by the powerful influence of his Spirit, they would not be able to save one soul by that ministry of theirs. *We as lively stones are built up a spiritual house* (1 Pet. ii. 5); but except the Lord build the house *they labour in vain that build it*, (Ps. cxxvii. 1.) For who is able to breathe the spirit of life into those dead stones, but he of whom it is written, *The hour is coming, and now is, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God, and they that hear shall live?*

(John v. 25); and again, (Eph. v. 14) *Awake thou that sleepest and arise from the dead and Christ shall give thee light?* Who can awake us out of this dead sleep, and give light unto these blind eyes of ours, but the Lord our God unto whom we pray that he *would lighten our eyes*, lest we sleep the sleep of death? (Ps. xiii. 3.)"

About the end of the year 1639, the archbishop sent out his great work, *Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates* [The Ancient History of the British Churches]; including an account of Pelagius and his heresy. This work was the produce of many years' labour and reflection, and as the learned had looked forward to its publication with much anxiety, so it fully answered their expectations. It was the most exact account then existing of the religion of the British isles, containing his reasons for believing that the gospel was implanted here within twenty years after our Saviour's crucifixion, and tracing the history of the church, and the succession of bishops, till near the end of the seventh century. Dr. Parr justly remarks, that this work "is so great a treasure of this kind of learning, that all that have writ since with any success on this subject must own themselves beholding to him for his elaborate collections."

For his help in the prosecution of these studies he found it expedient to employ a stated sum every year in the purchase of books and manuscripts, and engaged the assistance of many friends in collecting them. Thus, one of the first Samaritan Pentateuchs brought into the western part of Europe, and the most perfect copy of the Old Testament in Syriac, came into his possession through the hands of Mr. Davis, a British merchant at Aleppo. These and other manuscripts were used by bishop Walton in preparing the edition of the several ancient versions of the Scriptures, called the Polyglot Bible, and are now in the Bodleian library at Oxford.

Besides his efforts to diffuse the Protestant faith by means of his writings, he sought opportunities of conversing with his Roman Catholic neighbours of every class, and convinced many that the views in which they had been brought up were erroneous ; at the same time successfully representing to them the soundness of the doctrines of the established church, and the excellence of her liturgy. During his visit to England at the time of his advancement to the archbishopric, he was invited by lord Mordaunt, afterwards earl of Peterborough, to his seat at Drayton in Northamptonshire. That nobleman was a papist, and wished to draw his lady to the same religion, but happily consented that a discussion of the doctrines at issue should take place in their presence. Lady Mordaunt chose archbishop Usher as the advocate of the Protestant side ; and his opponent was a jesuit, then residing with that family. The conference lasted for several days, and at length ended in the jesuit's declining farther discussion, on the ground that he had forgotten his arguments. The consequence was, that the lady was confirmed in her views of scriptural truth, and lord Mordaunt, after a few private interviews with the archbishop, confessed himself a Protestant by conviction, and continued in that faith to the end of his days.

In 1626 our archbishop brought into Ireland the admirable Mr. Bedell, afterwards bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh. That excellent man was with some difficulty induced to leave a retired and poor preferment to take the headship of Trinity college, Dublin. Even after he had entered upon the office, he longed to return to his living in Suffolk ; but, being assured that he might be useful in that situation, he remained in it until he was promoted to a bishopric. In this new charge he united firmness and vigilance with a truly christian meekness, and con-

ferred much benefit upon the Irish church, proving the correctness of that character which Dr. Ward, an eminent scholar of Cambridge, had sent over with him, that he was "a sincere, honest man, not tainted with avarice or ambition; pious, discreet, wise, and in cases of exigency stout enough." He often complained that the archbishop was not sufficiently intent upon carrying into effect the reforms which long-established abuses seemed to require, and considered himself entitled by age and station to remonstrate with him. But their mutual esteem was strong; bishop Bedell's letters indicate affection and respect for the character of his friend, "and the primate," says Burnet, "loved the bishop beyond all the rest of the order, and valued him highly for the zealous discharge of his office."

Soon after the appointment of Mr. Bedell to the provostship of Trinity college, archbishop Usher made one of his periodical visits to England. From his correspondence at this time it appears that he was an anxious observer of the course of public affairs, and that some forebodings of approaching evil occupied his mind. On these points he occasionally expressed his feelings to his friends in those letters which have been preserved, although they are generally rather learned than political.

A few days after the dissolution of parliament in June 1626, writing to his friend Dr. Ward, he evinced much alarm at the complexion of the times:—"The sudden dissolution of parliament hath amazed us," he says; "all men's hearts failing them for fear, and for looking on those things which are coming on the land. The Lord prepare us for the day of our visitation, and then let his blessed will be done!"

In the same month he was consulted upon a curious incident, which seems to have made some stir at Cambridge. Dr. Ward wrote thence as follows:—"There

was last week a codfish brought from Colchester to our market to be sold ; in the cutting up of which there was found in the maw of the fish a thing which was hard ; which proved to be a book of a large 16mo, which had been bound in parchment. The leaves were glued together with a jelly. After washing of it, Mr. Mede did look into it. It was printed, and he found a table of the contents. The book was entitled *A Preparation to the Cross*. It may be a special admonition to us at Cambridge. Mr. Mede upon Saturday read to me the heads of the chapters, which I very well liked of. Now, it is found to have been made by Rich. Tracy, of whom Bale* maketh mention, cent. 9, p. 719. He is said to flourish then, 1550. But I think the book was made in king Henry the eighth's time, when the Six Articles were afoot. The book will be printed here shortly."

The archbishop replied :—" I received your letters, wherein you signify unto me the news of the book taken in the fish's belly ; and another letter from Mr. Mede, touching the same argument. The accident is not lightly to be passed over, which (I fear me) bringeth with it too true a prophecy of the state to come ; and to you of Cambridge (as you write) it may well be a special admonition, which should not be neglected. It behoveth you, who are heads of colleges, and united in sentiments, to stick close to one another, and (quite obliterating all secret distastes or pritty discontentments, which possibly may fall betwixt yourselves), with joint consent to promote the cause of God. Mr. Provost will, I doubt not, with great alacrity devote himself to this object. So, with the remembrance of my affections to all my friends

* Bale, or Baleus, was the first protestant bishop of Ossory in Ireland, and the writer of many works of learning and antiquarian research.

there, I commit you to the protection and direction of our good God ; in whom I rest your own most assured,

“ JA. ARMACHANUS.

“ *Lond. June 30, 1626.*”

Before leaving England the primate preached before the king, upon the general state of religion in the country, and received warm thanks and commendations from his friends for that sermon. At the end of July he commenced his journey homeward, by way of Oxford and Liverpool, and arrived in Ireland in the following month.

A few years afterwards, he was in frequent correspondence with archbishop Laud, who consulted him upon such measures as affected the welfare and efficiency of the Irish church.

When Lord Falkland was recalled from the government of Ireland in 1630, archbishop Usher bestowed upon him a parting blessing upon the sea-shore. That nobleman is described as being adorned with the purest virtue, the richest gifts of nature, and the most valuable acquisitions of learning. Between him and the primate a lasting friendship had been contracted ; and the latter, in some letters to the privy council, defended him from the charges of mal-administration which had been brought against him.

It was a favourite object with the British government to complete the union of the churches of England and Ireland, by establishing the English articles and canons in the latter kingdom, as the rule of doctrine and discipline. But this scheme was unwelcome to many of the clergy, who neither liked to sacrifice the independence of their church, nor to blot out that tinge of calvinism which the Irish articles diffused over it ; and their character and influence entitled their sentiments to re-

spectful consideration. In 1635, however, a compromise was effected. The archbishop conferred with lord Wentworth, and at length proposed to the convocation, with the approbation of the government, that the English articles should be adopted by the Irish Church, without abrogating its own; and that a rule of discipline should be formed out of the English canons, only with such alterations as that assembly should approve. On the subject of the former of these measures, the primate wrote to his friend, Dr. Ward:—"The articles of religion agreed upon in our former synod, anno 1615, we let stand as they did before. But for the manifesting of our agreement with the church of England, we have received and approved your articles also, concluded in the year 1562, as you may see in the first of our canons." This was as much as the compiler of those articles could be expected to concede; and we are not surprised that he and most of the bishops still continued to require candidates for ordination to subscribe them.

It seems, however, highly probable, that the opinions of archbishop Usher had for some time been changing on the deep subjects of election and predestination, and therefore that he was less averse to the reception of the English articles than at the time when he was appointed to compile a confession of faith for the church of Ireland. We learn from his letters written subsequently to that period, that he was persuaded that in the hot debates of those times both parties had erred from the truth, and that for his own part he had found satisfaction in "a middle course." He declares his belief that, through the price paid by our blessed Saviour, all men are placed within the reach of pardon. "All men," he says, "may be truly said to have interest in the merits of Christ, as in common, though all do not enjoy the benefit thereof,

because they have no will to take it." "The virtue thereof is such," he observes, "that if all did take it, all without doubt should be recovered, but without taking it there is no recovery. . . . It may be truly said, that no man's state is so desperate but by this means it is recoverable." He declares that all do not obtain actual remission of their sins, because they do not seek it; but that God invites and entreats us all to be reconciled to Him; that "many, hearing [the Gospel of salvation] do not believe, or lightly regard it; and many that do believe the truth thereof are so wedded to their sins, that they have no desire to be divorced from them, and therefore they refuse the gracious offer that is made unto them. And yet, notwithstanding their [this] refusal on their part, we may truly say that good things were provided for them on Christ's part, and a rich *prize was put into the hands of a fool, howsoever he had no heart to use it.*"—Prov. xvii. 16.

These sentiments, expressed in the year 1617, show that at that early period he had no liking for the more frightful positions of Calvin; and we learn, by the satisfactory testimony of several personal friends, that in his latter years he had altogether forsaken the tenets known by that name; and some published letters of Dr. Hammond represent that the archbishop utterly and publicly disclaimed them.

Little remains to be added to the account which we have now given of this part of the primate's life. He constantly and earnestly preached the gospel, and exemplified in his own character the instructions which he delivered. "The discourses," says his chaplain, Dr. Bernard, "which daily fell from him at his table, in the clearing of difficulties in the Scripture, and other subjects, especially when learned men came to visit him, were of great advantage to such as were capable of them. It

often put me in mind of that speech of the queen of Sheba to Solomon,—*Happy are these thy servants that continually stand about thee, and hear thy wisdom.* And such was his humility that he would, in practical subjects, apply himself to the information and satisfaction of the poorest and weakest person that should desire it; nay, sometimes rather incline towards such than to others more learned; which strangers wondered at, as the disciples marvelled at our Saviour's talking with the poor woman at Samaria, and answering her questions rather than heeding of them. (John iv. 27.)

“The order observed in his family as to prayer, was four times a day; in the morning at six, in the evening at eight, and before dinner and supper in the chapel, at each of which he was always present.

“On Friday in the afternoon constantly an hour in the chapel was spent in going through the principles of religion in the catechism, for the instruction of the family. And every Sunday in the evening, we had a repetition of his sermon in the chapel, which he had preached in the church in the forenoon.

“In the winter evenings he constantly spent two hours in comparing of old manuscripts of the Bible, Greek and Latin, where about five or six of us assisted him, and the various readings of each were taken down by himself with his own hand.”

About the beginning of the year 1640, the archbishop was invited to England, with the hope that his character and influence might help to allay the storm which had been gathering so long, and which threatened to descend upon the kingdom in misery and sorrow. Willing to use such powers as he possessed in promoting public peace, he embarked with his wife and family, little thinking that he should never more return to his native land.

CHAPTER III.

HIS REVERSES.

From darkness here and dreariness
We ask not full repose ;
Only be Thou at hand to bless
Our trial-hour of woes.
Is not the pilgrim's toil o'erpaid
By the clear rill and palmy shade ?
And see we not, up earth's dark glade,
The gate of heaven unclosed ?—*Christian Year.*

By a merciful providence, God so conducts the steps of his servants as to deliver them out of innumerable troubles ; and a pious christian cannot look back upon his past journey through life without seeing reason to own that many combinations of circumstances have brought blessings into his hands, although they might easily have been so arranged as to terminate in misery.

Archbishop Usher had cause to be thankful that he was led into England at this time, and that his stay was protracted during many months ; for he thus escaped the most dreadful scene of ferocious slaughter which the pages of modern history describe.

But we are a little anticipating the course of our narrative. Immediately on his landing, the primate set out with his family to London ; where, finding himself in the midst of civil and religious discord, he soon proceeded to Oxford, hoping that peace might yet linger within the precincts of the university. In this expectation, however, he was disappointed ; so, after enjoying the learned society of the place for a short period, he re-

turned to the metropolis, resolving to exhort the people fearlessly, as well by preaching as writing, to be "loyal and obedient to their prince," while he endeavoured "to the utmost of his power to heal those breaches, and reconcile those differences, which were ready to break out both in church and state."

Soon after his return, the impeachment of lord Strafford came on ; the archbishop frequently visited him in prison, and the earl consulted him about many parts of the defence which he intended to make at his trial.

When the bill of attainder passed the House of Lords, in May, 1641, the king, perplexed between the peril of refusing his assent and the injustice of granting it, sent for archbishop Usher and some other prelates. It was on a Sunday morning that the king's messenger came to the primate, while he was preaching in the church in Covent Garden. Descending for a moment from the pulpit, to learn what urgent affairs so unseasonably demanded his attention, he told the messenger that "he was then employed about God's business, which as soon as he had done he would attend upon his majesty ;" and then, returning to his place, proceeded with his sermon. Afterwards, when he arrived at Whitehall, the king was engaged with other advisers ; but in the evening he had a conference with his royal master, and (as he solemnly assured Dr. Parr) declared his opinion, "that if his majesty was satisfied by what he had heard at the trial that the earl was not guilty of treason, he ought not in conscience to consent to his condemnation." And when the king yielded to the popular demand, and gave to the bill that sanction which weighed upon his spirits during the remainder of his days, the archbishop expressed his feelings with tears in his eyes, "Oh, sire, what have you done ? I fear that this act may prove a great trouble upon

your conscience; and pray God that your majesty may never suffer for signing this bill!"

It is related that lord Strafford, when viceroy of Ireland, had looked upon archbishop Usher with no very friendly feeling, and therefore it is the more delightful to observe, that he made choice of the primate for his spiritual adviser, now that his days were numbered. The good archbishop had many interviews with him, and on the last evening of his mortal existence assisted him in his prayers to that court where, as the earl remarked, "neither partiality can be expected nor error found." Next morning he attended lord Strafford to the scaffold; kneeled down and prayed by his side; observed with comfort that the departing nobleman was engaged in silent devotion; was personally addressed in that courageous and eloquent speech which he delivered before disrobing for execution; and then, having received his last farewell, hastened from the touching scene, and bore to the king the tidings that all was over, adding the only consolation which the case admitted, that he had seen reason to believe that the earl was well prepared for that change, and that his last gloomy hours were brightened by the hope of eternal glory.

In the same year, 1641, archbishop Usher and bishop Hall were engaged in writing in defence of the church; and if they had been calmly and dispassionately attended to, the Church would have been saved the fiery trial which befel it. Usher's opponent was no less a person than Milton, and episcopacy was the subject of their controversy. The palm of victory has been assigned to each; but, as Dr. Symmons remarks, in his *Life of Milton*, "if argument and reason could have prevailed, the result [to the church] would probably have been different. The learning of Usher and the wit of Hall certainly pre-

ponderated in the contest, and they seem to have been felt not only by the Smectymnuan * divines, but by Milton himself. The affected contempt with which he speaks of 'the dust and pudder in antiquity' of his 'respected friends, lying at the mercy of a coy and flirting style,' of their 'antagonist vapouring them out with quips and snapping adages, and employing weak arguments headed with sharp taunts,' sufficiently betrays the weak points of his friends and the strong ones of his opponents. If the church, indeed, at this time, could have been upheld by the abilities of its sons, it would have been supported by these admirable prelates; but numbers, exasperation, and enthusiasm, were against them . . . The tone of this debate was far from mild, and all the combatants, with the exception of Usher, seem to have been careless of manners, and not less intent on giving pain to their adversaries than on the discovery or the establishment of truth."

In the latter part of the same year, intelligence arrived in England that a murderous rebellion had broken out in Ireland, and the archbishop learned that he had been made to suffer severe losses amid the general spoliation and ruin; but he was grateful for the personal safety of himself and family.

In the preceding March or April, the Irish had formed the project of casting off the British yoke, and their plan was to massacre all the English and protestants in the island; and, as persons of great influence amongst the natives were engaged in the conspiracy, and they had the assistance of some thousands of disbanded soldiers, they confidently expected success in their horrid undertaking.

The 23d of October was the day appointed for the ge-

* The word Smectymnuus is composed of the initial letters of the names of five divines, who united their powers in writing down episcopacy under the above title.

neral rising of the native population, and nothing can be more shocking than the account which Hume and other historians give of this savage insurrection: "When rapacity and vengeance had been fully exerted upon the property of the English inhabitants, cruelty, the most barbarous that ever in any nation was known or heard of, began its operations. No age, no sex, no condition, was spared; without provocation, without opposition, the astonished English, living in profound peace and full security, were massacred by their nearest neighbours, with whom they had long maintained a continual intercourse of kindness and good offices.

"But death was the slightest of the punishments inflicted by the rebels. All the tortures which wanton ferocity could devise, all the lingering pains of body, the anguish of mind, the agonies of despair, could not satiate revenge excited without injury, and cruelty derived from no cause. To enter into particulars would shock the least delicate. Such enormities, though attested by undoubted evidence, appear almost incredible. Nor were these barbarities perpetrated without a pretence of religion, and the countenance of its ministers. The English, as heretics, were marked out by the priests for slaughter, and it was pronounced meritorious to rid the world of these enemies to catholic faith and piety."

According to Burnet, in his *Life of Bishop Bedell*, a popish writer boasted that upwards of two hundred thousand thus miserably perished; the lowest computation is that of Hume, who estimates the number of the victims at somewhat less than forty thousand.

From such terrors and miseries the primate of Ireland was preserved by his absence from that kingdom: for there can be no doubt that the infuriate people would not have spared him if he had been at home, since they

even seized bishop Bedell, and confined him in a damp and dreary prison, although they were not insensible to his exemplary conversation among them, his tenderness and charity, and told him that they loved and honoured him beyond all the English that ever came into Ireland, and that he should be the last to be driven out of that kingdom.

With the exception of the archbishop's house, furniture, and library, at Drogheda, which place held out against the rebels through a long siege, his whole property fell a sacrifice to these merciless plunderers; and he was reduced to the necessity of selling whatever plate and other valuables he had brought over to England, in order to supply the present wants of his family.

By one who had completed more than sixty years without having experienced privation, who was fond of quietude, and whose habits were studious, such a reverse as that which now befel him, must have been severely felt. But he knew where to look for support. The Bible, — “the Book of books,” as he termed it, — taught him, in whatsoever condition he might be, therewith to be content; and, remembering the examples set before him of the patient endurance of affliction, he was satisfied to take up his cross, and follow the steps of his blessed Saviour.

We are told that at an early period of his life he had adopted, from some books which he read, a notion that affliction was a necessary mark of being a child of God, and earnestly prayed that he might be dealt with accordingly. And, although he was afterwards convinced of his error, and ceased to pray for chastisements, he considered that from the time of those prayers he was never altogether free from affliction of some sort. His advice therefore was, that no christian should tempt God

to show such a sign for a mark of his paternal love, but wait and be prepared for them, bear them with patience when they came, and turn them to good account by considering the purposes for which they were sent. And he added, that "we should by no means judge of a man's spiritual state by his portion of sorrow ; but that we should judge ourselves by the fruits of a real sincere conversion and internal holiness, which are the only true evidences of a state of salvation."

His present affliction was much alleviated by the immediate opening of various channels through which the means of adequate subsistence might flow to him. The university of Leyden, when they heard that there was little prospect of his return to Ireland, sent to offer him a professorship, the stipend of which they were willing to increase if he should accept it. Even a papist, cardinal Richelieu, promised him a kind reception in France, an ample pension, and freedom to exercise his own religion. But the king proposed to confer upon him the vacant bishopric of Carlisle, and as he had no disposition to settle in a foreign land, he gladly accepted that offer in preference to the others, although the revenues of the see seemed precarious, according to the present aspect of affairs, and were so impoverished as to be inadequate to his maintenance without "some other helps," in consequence of the armies in the north being quartered upon the bishopric.

A few years after, the parliament, having seized upon the bishop's lands, made a show of generosity, by voting for his use an annual pension of four hundred pounds ; but that payment was soon discontinued, and he probably did not receive it more than twice, if so often.*

* The chief agent employed by parliament to dispose of the property of the see of Carlisle, was one Barker, of whom Walker relates the

In 1642 he resolved once more to withdraw himself from the tumults and heart-burnings of the metropolis, and to remove to his favourite residence at Oxford; and he found on his arrival that poverty did not make him less welcome to his friends. Dr. Prideaux, the bishop of Worcester, lent him a house near Exeter college, at a very short distance from the Bodleian library, where he prosecuted his studies diligently, and prepared several works for the press.

The archbishop preached at one of the churches in Oxford every Sunday, and multitudes flocked to hear him. There was something remarkably simple and impressive in his sermons; he shunned that "windy affected sort of oratory, which was then much in use, called florid preaching, or strong lines;" and, being gifted with a quickness of mind and ready command of language, he only wrote down the heads of the discourse, which he had prepared by reflection, study, and prayer.

"I remember," says Dr. Parr, "that there was a person in the university, very much famed for that [florid] kind of preaching, who, after he had sometimes

following particulars: he destroyed the woods, pillaged the castle of Rose, (the bishop's residence,) and carried off many of the stones to build his own house and barn. But in the next generation Barker's name was clean put out; for he died soon after the restoration, and his son and posterity, together with the house and lands, are in a manner quite vanished: that is, the latter out of the name, the former out of the country. About the year 1645, Mr. Lowther, who had been constable of the castle of Rose, with about twenty or thirty men, endeavoured to keep it for the rightful lord, but he was soon beaten out of it by a party of colonel Hevingham's regiment, who burned down the best and greatest part of it; in which condition it remains, says Walker, unrepaired to this day. For this, and other good services of the same kind, Hevingham and some of the rest of the officers had the lands and revenues of the bishop, dean, and chapter, for their debentures.

heard the lord primate's sermons, and observing how plain and yet moving they were, and being sufficiently satisfied that it was not for want of wit or learning that he did not do otherwise, was soon convinced that his own was not the most ready way of gaining souls, and therefore, quitting his affected style and studied periods, took up a more plain and profitable way of preaching ; so that, coming afterwards to visit the lord primate, he gave him many thanks, and told him that he had now learned of him how to preach, and, that since he had followed his example, he had found more satisfaction in his own conscience, and comfort in his ministry, than ever he had before.

“ And I remember one sermon above the rest, which he preached in Exeter college chapel, about that time, upon the text, Prov. xviii. 1. *Through desire a man having separated himself, seeketh and intermeddleth with all wisdom* ;—in which sermon he so lively and pathetically set forth the excellency of true wisdom, as well human as divine, and that desire which every ingenuous and virtuous soul ought to have for it, that it wrought so effectually upon the hearts of many of the younger students, that it rendered them more serious, and made them ply their studies much harder than before.”

In the same year he was appointed to preach before the king, on his majesty's return to Oxford after the battle of Edgehill, and on other solemn occasions.

Some of his sermons preached at Oxford, were published, after his death, from notes taken by three clergymen, who acknowledged in the preface that they had derived great benefit from his ministry. “ The persuasion of Armagh's incomparable learning,” they say, “ the observation of his awful gravity, the evidence of his eminent and exemplary piety, all improved to the height by his

indefatigable industry, drew students to flock to him as doves to the windows. It joys us to recollect how multitudes of scholars, especially the heads of our tribes, thronged to hear the sound of his silver bells; how much they were taken with the voice of this wise charmer; how their ears seemed, as it were, fastened to his lips. Here you might have seen a sturdy Paul, a persecutor transformed into a preacher; there a tender-hearted Josiah lamenting after the Lord, and with Ephraim smiting on his thigh, saying, 'What have I done!' Others with the penitent Jews so stabbed at the heart, as that they were forced to cry out in the bitterness of their soul, Men, brethren, fathers, what shall we do? These were some of the blessings from on high which attended these sermons."

In the summer of 1643 the archbishop was nominated one of the Assembly of Divines, a body called together by parliament to consult about the changes to be made in the doctrine and discipline of the church. According to Dr. Parr, he neither recognised the lawfulness of their appointment, nor approved of the business upon which they met, and therefore "never troubled himself to go thither;" and upon this a complaint was made to the Commons, who voted him out of the assembly. But Walker's account is, that he "stooped so low as to appear among them for a little while; but after attending his majesty at Oxford and refusing to return, they did that great prelate justice, by honouring him, and scandalising themselves, with an expulsion from their assembly."

They soon after vented their indignation upon him. As he would not countenance their measures, so in his sermons at Oxford he objected to their rebellious proceedings; and they were so enraged, that "the commit-

tee which they appointed for *delinquents'* estates, (as they nicknamed those who now faithfully served their prince,) made an order for the seizure of a study of books of considerable value," which he had left at Chelsea college, waiting for the time when he might have some settled place of residence.

His library was accordingly seized, and about to be sold, when Dr. Featly, who was then in some favour with them, and one of the assembly, contrived, through the learned Selden, (who was a member of parliament, as also of the assembly,) to obtain those books for his own use, either as a gift, or for a sum of money. Thus he "got them into his hands, and secured them for my lord primate's use, at least as many of them as were not embezzled or stolen away whilst they were in their custody; as, amongst other things, divers papers and collections of his own writing, with all his letters, either to or from his learned friends, which he had left behind him there, were then plundered."

Soon after this occurrence, the friendship which existed between archbishop Usher and Dr. Featly was the innocent cause of the greatest trouble to the latter. He was in doctrine a puritan, a favourer of the parliament on many questions, and a popular member of the assembly of divines; but withal a man of great moderation. He was too moderate to prosper in those times; and being taken before one of the committees of inquiry, that body was induced by false witnesses and frivolous charges to vote that he should be dispossessed of his living of Lambeth. The House of Commons, however, refused to confirm that decision; but soon after, it was discovered that he was a correspondent of our archbishop's, who was then with the king at Oxford. The House then resumed the inquiry, and expelled him from the assembly "for

betraying the trust reposed in him and adhering to the enemy," both his livings were sequestered, his library and estate seized, and he himself was committed to a common gaol, which in a short time brought him to his end. To complete these oppressions, although he suffered these wrongs in consequence of his correspondence with archbishop Usher, yet the very articles of accusation which the House had before set aside as frivolous and scandalous, were now read in his church at Lambeth as the ground of his sequestration.

During his residence at Oxford, the archbishop prepared for publication several of his works, which were characterized by great learning and a diligent research into antiquity. He continued to defend the episcopal form of church government as that most accordant with the primitive model; and in this labour he had a partner in the "most learned and pious Dr. Hammond," with whom he now contracted an intimate and permanent friendship, and whose name he ever after mentioned with kindness and respect.

Amongst the books which he wrote at this time was a treatise on the early church in Asia Minor, intended to show that the bishop of Ephesus exercised an extensive authority similar to that of our archbishops; thus adducing a precedent for that ecclesiastical office.

In the early part of the lamentable civil war, the lawfulness of taking arms against the king was a frequent subject of discussion. When the archbishop was consulted, he gave his opinion honestly and plainly, that when he looked at the matter by the light of Scripture, he could find neither precept nor example to countenance rebellion, and that nothing could justify subjects in having recourse to such means of enforcing their demands: and he thought it the duty of a christian to refuse to bear

arms, when called upon by any other authority than that of the king. He added, that in the present case all pretences for rebellion appeared to be taken away, since the king had promised a great reformation of all abuses and grievances in the established religion and government. "There are, (no question,)" he admits, "many which follow them, who really intend the advancement of religion, going after them, as many did after Absalom, in the simplicity of their hearts, expecting a speedier course of justice, and redress of grievances which they suffered by some evil officers under David. (2 Sam. xv. 4. 11.) But, for the other, to whom we owe this war, and who will rule and dispose all if they do prevail; their end intended and driven at is, the abolishing of the public service and liturgy which is established by law, the utter taking away of episcopal government, which has always been; and for their greater security they will have the power which by law is his majesty's; and because these are not granted, arms are taken up by subjects to the invading of his majesty's rights and power; and for the maintaining of them, the right and liberty of subjects are destroyed."

About this time he preached before the king on a fast-day, taking for his text, 2 Chron. vii. 14. *If my people which are called by my name shall humble themselves, and pray, and seek my face, and turn from their wicked ways, then will I hear from heaven, and will forgive their sin, and will heal the land.* In the course of this sermon he said, that "the casting our eyes upon other men's sins more than upon our own makes us to esteem the things we suffer to be the injuries of men and not the punishments of God. When the outward senses fail, we take it to be a sign of approaching death; and so when we are given over to have eyes which see not, and ears which hear not, it is an argument of decaying souls. For as no

prayers or fastings in the world can sanctify a rebellion, nor tempt God to own an unjust party, so neither will a good cause alone justify us, any more than a true religion without practice ; we must first do our duties, otherwise neither the one nor the other will do us any good." He then went on to lament and reprove the crying sins of the age, and inveighed against " the looseness and debauch'dness of manners which he had observed in too many who believed that the being on the right side would atone for all other faults."

In conversation also, he expressed his fears that those who were maintaining a good cause would frustrate all their hopes of success by their own bad lives ; for how, he asked, could they expect the blessing of God upon their arms while they were daily fighting against Him ?

Neither did he spare the promoters of that war. He showed how contrary to the Gospel were strife and contention ; reminded the people that *the fruit of righteousness is sown in peace of them that make peace* (James iii. 18), and cautioned those who were so hot against popery to be as zealous in restraining sacrilege, plunder, and avarice, luxury, drunkenness, and gluttony, arrogance, pride, and hypocrisy.

Early in the year 1645 there was an expectation that Oxford would be besieged by the parliamentary forces ; and the archbishop's friends advised him to retire to some other part of the country. Accordingly, he determined to repair to Cardiff Castle, of which his son-in-law, sir Timothy Tyrrel, was governor, being also general of the ordnance under lord Gerard, the lieutenant-general of his majesty's forces in South Wales.

Having taken leave of the king, he accompanied the Prince of Wales as far as Bristol, and from thence proceeded to Cardiff, " where his son and daughter wel-

comed him with all that joy and affection which so good a father, after so long an absence, could expect."

Here he passed almost a year, free from the dangers of war, so that he had a good opportunity for pursuing his studies, having brought several chests of books with him; and he made considerable progress in the first part of his *Annals*.

Whilst he remained in this retreat, the fatal battle of Naseby was fought; and after it the king passed into Wales, where he first rested at Ragland Castle, in Monmouthshire, and, proceeding from thence to Cardiff, stayed there several days. He was glad to meet his chaplain, who preached before him in this hour of adversity, and conversed much with the unfortunate monarch, who stood so greatly in need of the consolations of religion. And when he departed a few days after, the archbishop, as he talked with Dr. Parr, deplored the danger which encompassed the king, the great effusion of blood by the hands of fellow-countrymen, and the prostrate condition of the church.

The king soon after found occasion to collect the greater part of his forces from the stations in which they were quartered, and the garrison of Cardiff was abandoned amongst the rest. The archbishop was therefore obliged to remove to some other asylum, and he reflected with no small degree of perplexity whither he should next direct the steps of his family. He once more thought of Oxford; but, in order to arrive there, he must have passed through a tract of country which was occupied by the enemy, and so that journey seemed impracticable. He next contemplated crossing over to France or Holland, for he had received offers of kindness from both countries. But whilst he was at a loss to determine what course to take, the dowager lady Strad-

ling sent to invite him to her castle of St. Donat's, and he gladly accepted her proffered hospitality.

It was scarcely safe, however, to undertake that journey; for the Welsh had risen in arms, to the number, as it was estimated, of ten thousand, and it was known that whatever other objects they might have in view, they were animated by very unfriendly feelings towards the English. Some, however, of the inhabitants of Cardiff offered to conduct the family to St. Donat's, by a way which should avoid this tumultuous assemblage; but unfortunately it happened that a straggling party, scouting near the mountains, fell in with the little company of travellers, and, carrying them to the main body, proclaimed that their prisoners were English.

This was the signal for plunder. The archbishop, his daughter, and the other ladies, were dragged from their horses; the chests which accompanied them were immediately broken open, and the books, manuscripts, and other property which they contained, were quickly dispersed among a thousand hands.

Their deliverance from the alarming situation in which they were now placed was owing to the timely arrival of some of the officers, who, being gentlemen of the country, were indignant at such barbarous usage of inoffensive travellers; they ordered the immediate restitution of the horses and other property, and then conducted the party to the neighbouring house of Sir John Aubrey, where they were kindly received and lodged for the night. When the archbishop retired to his room, and looked over his books and papers, he was greatly distressed at discovering that many documents which he valued were missing, and spoke of it as a loss which troubled him more than any which he had yet been called upon to sustain.

Next morning several of the neighbouring gentry and clergy came to pay their respects to him, and promised their best efforts for the recovery of his lost property; after which they conducted him to St. Donat's castle, an ancient and extensive pile of buildings, situated on the sea-coast, which had belonged to the family of Stradling, (or as it was originally called, le Esterling,) for many hundred years, the first possessor having come over to this island with William the conqueror.

During the next two or three months nearly all the manuscripts were recovered. Notices were read in the churches that "All who had any of those books or papers should bring them to their ministers or landlords;" and by such means they were restored to their rightful owner.

At St. Donat's the archbishop had access to an excellent library, which had been collected by sir Edward Stradling, a distinguished antiquary, and one of Camden's friends. Here were many curious manuscripts, and, amongst others, some which related to the early history of Wales, from which the archbishop made numerous extracts. But only a few weeks after his arrival had elapsed when his studies were interrupted by a dangerous illness, in which a violent bleeding so exhausted his frame that the physicians despaired of his life. "At last," says his friend, "when we apprehended that he was expiring, it stanch'd of itself; for he lay a good while in a trance. But God had some further work for him to perform, and was pleased by degrees to restore him to his former health and strength."

"But it is worth the remembering, that whilst he was in the midst of his pain, as also his bleeding, he was still patient, praising God, and resigning up himself to his will, and giving all those about him, or that came to visit

him, excellent heavenly advice to a holy life, and due preparation for death, ere its agonies seized them. 'It is a dangerous thing,' he said, 'to leave all undone till our last sickness; I fear a death-bed repentance will avail us little, if we have lived vainly and viciously, and neglected our conversion till we can sin no longer.'

"Thus he exhorted us all to fear God, and love and obey the Lord Jesus Christ, and to live a holy life. 'And then,' said he, 'you will find the comfort of it at your death, and your change will be happy!'"

While he appeared to be approaching his last hour,

Waiting his summons to the sky,
Content to live, but not afraid to die,

a member of the parliament, who was related by marriage to the family at St. Donat's, came to visit him; to whom he said in a solemn manner, "Sir, you see I am very weak, and cannot expect to live many hours; you are returning to the parliament, I am going to God; I charge you to tell them from me that I know they are in the wrong, and have dealt very injuriously with the king."

It was during his stay in Wales that his work, *The Body of Divinity*, was published in London, but without his sanction or knowledge. Dr. Parr describes it as a compilation from various authors, made for his own private use in early life; and states that some persons, having borrowed it, transcribed it, and had it printed with the author's name.

When his strength was sufficiently restored, he began to think of seeking some fresh retreat. It was now more than ever unsafe to return to Oxford, for the king's affairs were in a wretched condition, and the university was likely to fall very soon into the hands of the parliamentary forces. He was also unwilling to repair to Lon-

don, through fear that the enemies of the king would be no friends to him. He therefore resumed his former thoughts of crossing the sea, and seeking, in a foreign land and amongst strange people, the repose which seemed to be denied him at home.

A vessel was accordingly procured, and a passport obtained; "but when," says Dr. Parr, "we were preparing to go to it, there came into the road before Cardiff a squadron of ships, under the command of one Molton, vice-admiral for the parliament. Whereupon my lord primate sent me to him, (being then on shore at Cardiff,) to know if he would suffer him to go by him; and I showed him the pass above mentioned, to which Molton returned a rude and threatening answer, absolutely refusing it, and saying if he could get him into his hands, he would carry him prisoner to the parliament; and threatened likewise to send me also to his ship; by which you may see how highly enraged those of that faction were at this good bishop for adhering to the king."

Being thus at a loss whither to proceed, he remained quietly where he was for a time, until he received a most friendly invitation from "that noble lady the countess dowager of Peterborough, to come and make his abode with her, engaging that he should not be molested, but have all accommodations suitable to his condition, and to the great affection and esteem she had for him; as a return for those benefits she had formerly received from him in converting her lord, and securing herself from popery, as has been already related."

After some consideration he accepted this generous proposal; and, having obtained passes for the journey, he took his leave of St. Donat's, thankful for the hospitality which he had enjoyed there for nearly a year, and for the great kindness which he had experienced throughout his illness.

When it was rumoured abroad in that part of the country that the archbishop was about to change his residence to some distant place, the neighbouring gentry, knowing that he was deprived of his ordinary means of support, and suspecting that his recent journeyings and sickness had exhausted his finances, generously sent him considerable sums, unknown to each other.

The truth was, that he really stood in need of such help, since he had not even the means of defraying the expense of that journey. He therefore gratefully received the gifts which were sent to him; and blessed that all-wise and merciful Being who had raised up friends unexpectedly in the hour of his great necessity.

Alas! that archbishop Usher should have been compelled to accept alms at the hands of strangers! But these trials made him feel more strongly than ever that his rest was not here; and his good hope through faith supported him amidst his journeyings,—his perils of waters and of robbers,—his perils by his own countrymen, and among false brethren,—through weariness and painfulness, and watchings often,—through afflictions, necessities, and tumults,—through evil report and good report. He could say in every dispensation, as unknown and yet well known; as dying, and behold we live; as chastened and not killed; as sorrowful, yet alway rejoicing; as poor, yet making many rich; as having nothing, and yet possessing all things. In everything he prepared himself to endure hardness as a good soldier of Jesus Christ, and was a follower of them, who through faith and patience inherit the promises.

CHAPTER IV.

HIS LATTER DAYS.

‘ At even-tide there will be light,’
 O yes, a radiance heavenly bright,
 Beams from the brow of pious age ;
 At close of life still holier grown,
 Some saintly presence there we own,
 Too pure for earthly pilgrimage.

‘ At even-tide there will be light,’
 Yes, faith, almost exchanged for sight,
 Beholds the future blest abode ;
 Bright thrones and angel-forms seem near,
 Heaven’s glorious gates scarce closed appear,
 And voices sing, Behold thy God !—*R. B. H.*

THE singleness of archbishop Usher’s purpose of following the word of God whithersoever it might lead him, both as to life and doctrine, and the candour and firmness with which he acknowledged and maintained what he believed to be right, were likely to expose him to some inconveniences. He was not a partizan, for while his views on some points coincided with those for which the puritans were distinguished, on others he decidedly opposed that powerful party.

This freedom to judge for himself, and the conclusions to which it led him, left him but very little cause for expecting any great cordiality or warmth of support from either party, and gave him reason to value the consoling truth that there *remaineth* a rest for the people of God.

With reflections naturally arising out of this topic, and probably with some anxious thoughts upon the precarious nature of their means of support, we may suppose that the little household of archbishop Usher undertook their

journey from the quiet retreat of St. Donat's castle towards the noisy and excited metropolis. And as they went on their way, he must often have bidden them to be of good courage, and to strengthen their armour by prayer and the word of God, so that they might resist evil, and maintain the right cause, whatever emergency might arise, unmoved by the frowns of friends or the wrath of enemies. And he must have resolved to express himself with honesty, decision, and boldness, whenever it should be demanded of him to explain or defend his opinions and principles.

But; however discouraging the prospects might be, God had designed that his servant should pass the remainder of his days in comparative ease and freedom from privation. He was indeed to continue stripped of his honours and emoluments, to experience many personal vexations, and grief for the evils of the times; but he escaped the sufferings of destitution, possessed the affection of his family, the friendship of his chaplain and many other estimable persons, and the respect and kind attentions of the generous lady who afforded him an asylum under her roof. Thus he had reason to view the crosses which lay in his path as nothing more than necessary memorials that the christian must not set his affections on the things of the earth, and, as he passed through them, God gave him strength and cheerfulness: the wilderness and solitary place were made glad for him by the light of God's countenance, and the desert could rejoice and blossom as a rose.

To the lights and shadows of the latter days of this good man's pilgrimage we shall now call the reader's attention.

On his arrival in London, he was most kindly received by the countess of Peterborough. This was in June

1646; from which time he commonly resided with her in one of her houses till his death.

Some little annoyances awaited him on his arrival in the neighbourhood of the parliament. That imperious body had issued an order, that whosoever should come from any of the king's garrisons to London must signify their names to a committee which sat at Goldsmiths' Hall, and there give notice of their being in town, and where they lodged. "Accordingly," says Dr. Parr, "June 18th, he sent me to Goldsmiths' Hall, to acquaint them that the archbishop of Armagh was in town, and at the countess of Peterborough's house, but they refused to take notice of his being in town, without his personal appearance. Upon a summons from the 'committee of examination,' at Westminster, he afterwards appeared before them, and underwent strict questioning, both as to where he had been and what he had been doing since he left London; and whether he had used any influence with the king in behalf of the catholics. After this the committee proposed to him an oath which had been framed for those who had favoured the king's cause, but he desired time to consider of that, and so was dismissed, and appeared no more; for the learned Selden and others of his friends in the House made use of their interest to put a stop to that trouble."

Soon after, he retired with the countess of Peterborough to her house at Reigate in Surrey, where he often preached in her chapel and in the parish church; and the report of his piety and learning induced the most estimable persons in that neighbourhood to cultivate his acquaintance.

Early in the year 1647, with much difficulty, and through the interest of great friends (of whom Selden was one), he obtained leave to preach publicly in Lon-

don; and the honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn immediately chose him to be their preacher, and appropriated to him some handsome apartments, ready furnished, in which he afterwards placed that library which had escaped the fury of the rebels in Ireland.

Mr. Hale, afterwards lord chief justice, was at that time one of the benchers of Lincoln's Inn, and he and the other members of the Society are said to have been fully alive to the value of their spiritual instructor, who continued to exhort them with all long-suffering and doctrine, during term, for eight years, that is till within two years of his death, when the failure of sight and loss of teeth compelled him to resign that charge, to their mutual regret.

Thus placed in a condition of tranquillity and independence, he was able to resume the correspondence with learned men, which had always afforded him so much pleasure. That it had been greatly interrupted by the unsettled state of his affairs appears from a letter which he wrote in Latin to the celebrated Gerard Voss; in which, after expressing regret that he should have delayed to acknowledge the receipt of a recent work sent to him by that learned professor, he goes on to say that he has some little excuse which he is sure so kind a person as his friend will accept. Ireland, he says, "was at that time seized by a flame which has not yet burned out, but creeps on daily, and rather increases."—"Thereby," he proceeds, "in addition to the public losses, and the most barbarous and savage massacre of protestants that was ever perpetrated, I am myself despoiled of all those external possessions which we commonly denominate goods. My library alone was snatched from the flames; but even that is not yet in my possession, for I again met with tumults and excesses in England, which drove me from

Oxford into Wales, where I suffered under a distressing disease for full eighteen weeks, and was at length saved, as it were, from the very jaws of the tomb, by the great mercy of God. I am unwilling to say anything about my reception on my return to London; nor would I have recalled to memory those other sad occurrences, were it not with a view to show you how I have been withheld from literary pursuits and communication with men of letters. Now, however, immediately upon my recovery, I have dedicated to you the accompanying short treatise upon the Creeds, a subject familiar to you."

Early in the next year we meet with a letter from the excellent and devout bishop Hall, dated from his "little cottage at Higham," near Norwich. The bishop wonders that Englishmen are not ashamed to neglect so great a man as the friend he is addressing. "With gratitude," he says, "did I receive yesterday, most reverend primate, your letters and your books, which I accept as gifts of the highest value. O how will foreigners stand amazed at those elaborate works, so stored with learned research, and pronounce the author happy in the command of so much leisure and learning! And how shall not our own countrymen blush to think of their neglecting a man so distinguished! But what is hatred or tyranny to you?" he asks;—"you, whom piety has raised so far above earthly things as to make you regardless alike of the neglect and the contempt of this most ungrateful age? All that you care for is to deserve a better lot; and with this feeling you can dwell in an obscure corner of Lincoln's Inn, though your merits would not have been too highly rewarded by a patriarchate of the whole eastern world. But what can so poor a man as I send as an acknowledgment of the munificent presents of your works! I lately ventured to publish a little book, but it

was so very inconsiderable, that I was indeed ashamed to send such a new-year's offering to so distinguished a person. But now I have taken courage to do so, and beg you, of your great generosity, to excuse the errors of the style and the author." This letter also is written in Latin.

This year, (1648,) while the king was a prisoner at Carisbrook castle in the Isle of Wight, and when loyalty was accounted a crime, archbishop Usher did not fear to brave the consequences of publicly confessing himself to be guilty of it. He preached at Lincoln's Inn, taking for his text, Isaiah viii. 12, 13. His chaplain's report of the sermon is, that " he sufficiently expressed his dislike of those covenants and confederacies which the two Houses had entered into, contrary to that oath which they had taken already ; and that we should not fear man more than God, when we were to do our duty to our prince or our country."

It was not long afterwards, that the jealousies and mutual distrust which prevailed amongst the enemies of the king induced the presbyterian party to vote a treaty with him, hoping to strengthen themselves against the independents. The king always loved to have the company of his chaplains. He looked upon the learned, discreet, and godly persons whom he had chosen to that office in the light of good angels, whom, as he said, " for their functions I reverence, and for their fidelity I have cause to love." On the present emergency, therefore, he desired their friendly presence, particularly as religion was to be a principal topic of discussion ; and, amongst others, sent a summons to our archbishop.

And what a change did the chaplains behold in their royal master on this occasion ! Within a year his hair had become almost entirely grey, and, with his beard, which he had allowed to grow, appeared dishevelled and

neglected. But the vigour of his mind was unbroken and undecayed. The parliamentary commissioners would allow none of his council to be present, and refused to discuss the matter at issue with any but himself: and he alone, during the transactions of two months, was obliged to maintain the argument against fifteen men of the greatest parts and capacity in both Houses; and no advantage, we are told, was ever obtained over him.

The king, of course, prepared for these discussions by consulting with the friends who then attended him; and in matters concerning religion, archbishop Usher was his frequent adviser.

The demands of the parliamentary commissioners extended to the establishment of presbytery, the sale of the chapter lands, the abolition of all forms of prayer, and the enactment of strict laws against papists. The king stated, in reply, that he only wished to retain in the church that form of government which he believed to be most accordant with the primitive and purest times; and went so far as to declare himself ready to agree to the total suspension of episcopacy for three years, and after that only to restore it in a very modified form. He also declared, that if he should be convinced, before the termination of those three years, that the function of bishops was not agreeable to the word of God, or that Christ commanded any other government, he would most cheerfully embrace it, but that, until he was so convinced, he felt himself bound to defend episcopacy.

The plan which archbishop Usher proposed in preference to this, with a view to do away the national confusion and schisms, was one which the presbyterians would probably have embraced gladly a little later, accounting its terms of reconciliation reasonable. He proposed to unite both kinds of church government, reducing to a great extent the power of bishops, but not including such

sweeping concessions as those which the state of affairs had compelled the king to offer. The chief feature of the archbishop's plan was the proposition that the several bishops should take the advice of an assembly of their clergy in the regulation of their dioceses. Thus he showed himself on this, as on other occasions before and after, to be an advocate of a moderate episcopacy.

When it was too late, the party then in power saw reason to regret that they had not given a more willing hearing to some of these propositions; for, as Dr. Parr observes, "they would have all or nothing—and they had their desires."

This advice and a sermon preached before the king during that visit brought much reproach and obloquy upon the archbishop, and the "news-books and pamphlets" declared that he had very much prejudiced the treaty, and that none among all the king's chaplains had been so mischievous as he.

Having taken his last farewell of the unhappy monarch, and regretting that his journey had been attended with so little success, he returned to Southampton on his way to London. Some of the principal inhabitants of that place received him with marked attention, and entreated him to preach on the next day, which would be Sunday. But while he was thinking of complying with their wishes, the governor of the garrison had an interview with him, and told him to give up his purpose, for that he could not be suffered to enter any pulpit in that town.

A few weeks after this, the eyes of the archbishop were once more to behold his persecuted king. It was on that day of execrable crime, when the monarch, who had long been stripped of his power to do either harm or good, was murdered in cold blood, in the face of the sun, and by order of a national council.

"The lady Peterborough's house, where my lord then

lived," says Dr. Parr, "being just over against Charing-cross, divers of the countess's gentlemen and servants got upon the leads of the house, from whence they could see plainly what was acting before Whitehall. As soon as his Majesty came upon the scaffold, some of the household came and told my lord primate of it, and asked him if he would see the king once more before he was put to death. My lord was at first unwilling, but was at last persuaded to go up, as well out of his desire to see his majesty once again, as also curiosity, since he could scarce believe what they told him unless he saw it. When he came upon the leads the king was in his speech; the lord primate stood still, and said nothing, but sighed; and lifting up his hands and eyes (full of tears) towards heaven, seemed to pray earnestly; but when his majesty had done speaking, and had pulled off his cloak and doublet, and stood stripped in his waistcoat, and that the villains in vizors began to put up his hair, the good bishop, no longer able to endure so dismal a sight, and being full of grief and horror for that most wicked fact now ready to be executed, grew pale, and began to faint; so that if he had not been observed by his own servant and some others that stood near him, who thereupon supported him, he had swooned away. So they presently carried him down, and laid him on his bed, where he used those powerful weapons which God has left his people in such afflictions, viz. prayers and tears; tears that so horrid a sin should be committed, and prayers that God would give his prince patience and constancy to undergo those cruel sufferings."

During the sad times which followed, archbishop Usher devoted himself more closely to his studies and to his duties in Lincoln's Inn, having as little communication as possible with the usurpers, and comforting and encouraging the suffering loyalists.

Thus did this pious and valuable man pass the remainder of his days, keeping himself as far as he could from "the madding crowd's ignoble strife." The account which we are enabled to give of that part of his life, though brief, is highly satisfactory as far as it extends.

As a preacher, he was still distinguished by that force and impressiveness for which he had been remarkable in the prime of life; he still addressed himself with the same powerful effect both to the understandings and the hearts of his congregation. The people were never weary of hearing him, for, besides the excellence of the instructions which he delivered, he had the faculty still to keep up the interest and attention of his hearers, and, as Dr. Parr expresses it, "to dismiss them withal with an appetite."

In proof of this, we may relate a circumstance which occurred after declining health and the weight of seventy-four years had compelled him to withdraw in a great measure from the public ministry of the word.

He happened to be in London, and was importuned by the countess of Peterborough and other kind friends to preach at St. Martin's church. That was the parish in which he was then living, and the old church was not so large but that he might be heard in it. Accordingly, he complied with their wishes, and, after having preached at some length, chanced to look upon the hour-glass, the sands of which appeared to his defective sight to have run out. So, as he was always fearful of diminishing the usefulness of his sermons by making them so long as to weary the hearers, he concluded his discourse, and told the congregation that "since the time was passed, he would leave the rest he had to say on that subject to another opportunity, if God should please to grant it him, of speaking again to them in that place." But the congregation, finding out his mistake, and that there was some

of the hour yet to come, and not knowing whether they might ever have the like happiness of hearing him again, made signs to the reader to let him know that the glass was not run out, and that they earnestly desired him to make an end of all that he intended to have spoken; which the reader performing, the archbishop received it very kindly; and, resuming his discourse where he broke off, he concluded with an exhortation full of heavenly thoughts for almost half an hour.

During the latter part of his life, Evelyn heard him preach several times in London, and mentions him with great respect in his *Diary*. Thus in 1649, March 25th, we find the following remarks. "I heard the Common Prayer (a rare thing in these days) in St. Peter's at Paul's Wharf, London; and in y^e morning the Archbishop of Armagh, that pious and learned man, Usher, in Lincoln's Inn Chapell." In April of the same year he writes, "On the 8th, againe heard an excellent discourse from Archbishop Usher, on Ephes. 4. v. 26, 27." And two months after, "June 10, Preach'd the Archbishop of Armagh in Lincoln's Inn, from Romans 5. verse 13." So in 1652. "29 Mar. I heard y^t excellent Prelate, the Primate of Ireland, (Jacob Usher,) preach in Lincpln's Inn on 4 Heb. 16, encouraging of penitent sinners."

As the infirmities of age increased upon him, nothing probably occasioned him more regret than his inability to continue to preach the word of salvation. But he had always exercised that part of his vocation with diligence, and therefore he had comfort in the remembrance of it; when he looked back upon the labours of his life, he found great pleasure in the reflection, that ever since he was called to the ministry, which was unusually early, he had endeavoured to discharge faithfully the great trust committed to him of preaching the Gospel, and to escape that woe which is pronounced against the neglect of it.

He was still full of charity and good works, and was particularly bountiful to those poor protestant ministers who were ruined, like himself, by the rebellion in Ireland, as well as their destitute widows and families, which they left behind them in a world of sorrow.

The English clergy were in a condition scarcely less wretched, and they also looked to him for help in their distress. The following letter, from his learned correspondent Casaubon, will show to what expedients they were often compelled to resort in order to procure subsistence :

“ MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

“ I was with Mr. Selden, after I had been with your Grace ; whom, upon some intimation of my present condition and necessities, I found so noble, as that he did not only presently furnish me with a very considerable sum, but was so free and forward in his expressions, as that I could not find in my heart to tell him much (somewhat I did,) of my purpose of selling, lest it might sound as a farther pressing upon him, of whom I had already received so much. Neither, indeed, will I now sell so much as I intended ; for I did not think (besides what I have in the country), to keep any at all that would yield any money. Now I shall, and among them, those manuscripts I spoke of to your Grace, and Jerome's Epistles particularly ; the rather, because I make use of it in my *De Cultu Dei*, (the first part, whereof, your Grace hath seen,) which I think will shortly be printed. As for my father's papers, I do seriously desire to dispose of them some way, if I can, to my best advantage, but with a respect to their preservation and safety, which I think would be, if some library, either here or beyond the seas, had them. I pray, good my Lord, help me in it if you can : and, when you have an opportunity,

confer with Mr. Selden about it. I will shortly (within these few weeks, God willing,) send a note to your Grace of what I have that is considerable, and will part with. Not but what I had much rather keep them, had I any hopes at all ever to be accommodated with books and leisure to fit them for public use myself. But that I have no hopes of, and certainly, so disposed of as I would have them in my lifetime, they will be safer than in my keeping in that condition I am. It would be a great ease to my mind to see that well done ; for I have always reckoned of them as of my life ; and if any mischance should come to them whilst they are in my keeping, (and indeed they have been in danger more than once, since this my tumbling condition), I should never have any comfort of my life.

“ I have sent your Grace the Jerome, that you may see it ; and if you desire to keep it by you, I shall humbly crave a note of it under your Grace’s hand.

“ So I humbly take my leave,

“ Your Grace’s in all humble duty,

“ MER. CASAUBON.”

; London, Oct. 21, 1650.”

His admiration of the church to which he belonged was great to the last. And this attachment must be the more satisfactory to all who are members of her communion, because he was a man of learning, discernment, and piety, and singularly free from prejudice or passion. This opinion he was always glad to express to others, and he would state his reasons in forcible terms, with a view to bring them to the same way of thinking. But he was not less remarkable for his feelings of charity and regard for those who differed from him, if they deserved his esteem. He lived on terms

of friendship with many persons of other communions, and considered that it would be wrong to suffer that harmony to be interrupted by contentions about doubtful questions and matters of small moment. Amongst others, he approved highly of the talents and the religious views of Baxter; and it was at the archbishop's suggestion that the latter wrote and published his powerful *Call to the Unconverted*.

At the house of the countess of Peterborough the archbishop was careful to be always present at the family devotions. He was not less earnest and persevering in the religious exercises of his closet; for being conscious of his weaknesses and wants, he did not fail to lay them before Him who could give strength and all things needful. He considered that "no honey is sweeter to the palate than spiritual prayer to God." "God's children," he would say, "let Him deny them ever so long, yet they will never leave knocking and begging; they will pray and they will wait still, till they receive an answer. Many will pray to God, as prayer is a duty, but few use it as a means to obtain a blessing. Those who come to God in the use of it as a means to obtain what they would have, will pray and not give over; they will expect an answer, and never give over petitioning till they receive it." Such views of prayer would naturally make him fervent and frequent in pouring out his heart before God.

He also expected great results from religious reflection. He conceived that some of the most precious fruits in God's vineyard were the growth of that hallowed season, when the soul contemplates itself as in God's more immediate presence; and he believed that the common unwillingness to engage in that employment was a principal cause why the comforts of God's word

were not so much experienced as they might be. "There is a thing," he says in one of his sermons, "wondrously wanting amongst us, and that is meditation. If we would give ourselves to it, and go up with Moses to the mount to confer with God, and seriously think of the price of Christ's death, and of the joys of heaven, and the privileges of a christian; if we would frequently meditate on these, we should have these sealing days every day, at least oftener. This hath need to be much pressed upon us; the neglect of this makes lean souls. He who is frequent in that, hath these sealing days often. Couldst thou have a parley with God in private, and have thy heart rejoice with the comforts of another day, even whilst thou art thinking of these things Christ would be in the midst of thee. Many of the saints of God have but little of this, because they spend but few hours in meditation."

When from these sacred and pleasurable occupations the archbishop looked into the world, the state of things which he beheld presented but a gloomy appearance. He mourned over the visionary doctrines of those strange times; he mourned over the fanciful interpretations of prophecy, which were then promulgated as truths of the Bible, the preaching of a dawning millennium, and of miracles that marked its appearing, the universal diffusion of the religion of the tongue, accompanied, as it was too sadly evidenced, with the general absence of the meekness of wisdom and the spirit of love. He deplored "the decay of sound religion and christian piety, which too much prevailed in those days, together with the mighty increase of both spiritual and fleshly wickedness; as heresies and schisms, and unchristian animosities; with debauchery and profaneness, which had so overrun and infected this nation during those times of

licentiousness and confusion." For these things he would frequently express his grief, saying, "These are the sad presages of greater miseries that will befall this church and kingdom, and make way for popery, to which our own divisions and wicked lives give the greatest advantage; and at length they will prove a scourge to the nation, if not cause the greatest blow that has been ever given to the reformed churches!"

These forebodings seem to have been strongly impressed upon his mind; and were perhaps not a little confirmed by the assurances sent to him by some friends abroad, with whom he corresponded, that certain English, Scotch, and Irish papists were trained up abroad with a knowledge of the chief points of difference between the Church of England and the multitudinous sects which united for her subversion, that so on their return to this country they might take part against her, by advocating any cause which might seem most likely to do her injury.

And if his fears of a wide diffusion of popery were not afterwards realized by facts, yet too surely had he foreseen that the seeds of some grievous spiritual distemper were being sown in the land; since the wild denunciations and wayward fancies so freely diffused in public and in private, were, as it has been well observed, "making religion, lovely as she is, appear to the vulgar eye absurd and insane, and preparing the way for that fearful reaction which ensued in the days of the second Charles, when men took credit to themselves that they were only profligates and blasphemers, and not enthusiasts and fanatics."

Often, too, in writing to his correspondents, did the archbishop lament the evils of the times. A few months after the execution of the king, he says in his letter to

Voss, "I am still alive, if any one can be said to live who, having been spared till times of calamity and wickedness, is daily compelled to be a witness of transactions which his mind dreads to contemplate, and from which it sorrowfully recoils."

His extensive correspondence was one of his greatest pleasures. The topics discussed were deeply interesting to him, and the letters which he received were the continual channels of kindly feelings and sympathies from his learned and pious friends. But as these letters relate principally to subjects which could throw little light upon his character, except as a man of learning and diligent research, we shall confine ourselves to the notice of a very few particulars.

In 1649 and 1650 we find him in correspondence with Dr. Hammond, whose Life is contained in the subsequent pages of this little volume. The subject is principally episcopacy; and the letters betoken a general agreement between them on that point, mutual feelings of respect, and a sincere desire for the success of each other in every good word and work.

A feature of the correspondence which is particularly deserving of notice is the continual expression of wishes, on the part of himself and his friends, for each other's spiritual well-being. The letters often began with "Health in Christ"—"Health from the fountain of health, our Lord Jesus Christ."—While "Unto God's blessing I commend you and your labours"—"I leave you unto the blessed protection of our good God"—"The Lord keep you, prosper your studies, bless your endeavours, and give us grace to conduct us in those ways which lead to happiness"—were the blessings which the charitable and pious in those days desired to have poured down upon their friends.

In the year 1650, archbishop Usher published the first part of his great work, *The Annals of the Old Testament*, the design of which was to settle, on the best authority, the dates of the several events from the creation down to the destruction of Jerusalem after the death of Christ.

Of the copies of this work which he distributed amongst his friends, one reached the humble abode of the impoverished bishop Hall. This devout man was highly gratified at receiving this token of esteem; he acknowledged the gift in a Latin letter, as was frequently done in those times, and declared that the gift was enhanced by the eminent character of the giver. "I have just received, most venerable prelate," he says, "your precious gift, so well worthy of you, your sacred annals of the Old Testament. So welcome was it, as it had been so anxiously expected, that I at once commenced the perusal of it, and have since been reluctant to read anything else. I am astonished at the proofs of unwearied labour, incredible industry, and deep research, which everywhere present themselves, even to an inattentive reader. But particularly I am surprised at your happy skill in contriving, now that you are continually required to prepare learned discourses, to find intervals of leisure for these severer studies, and the investigation of obscure matters of history, which you seem to rescue from the darkness of remote antiquity. Surely these endowments could only have resulted from a large measure of God's favour, both towards you and his church, for he alone could have conferred so richly these singular gifts of science and languages. Still go on, most excellent prelate, to benefit us, and to add fresh ornaments to your crown of eternal glory; still give later generations fresh cause to wonder that so great a light should have been bestowed upon so unworthy an age."

In the year 1653, when his sight was very defective, he received a letter of condolence from Dr. Morton, the ejected bishop of Durham. His friend begins by remarking, that "too long silence among friends useth to be the moth and canker of friendship,"—and states that for this cause he writes, rather than for any particular matter which he has to communicate—yet "in earnest," he goes on, "I grieve at heart to hear of your Grace's declination of sight, though it be my own disease, yet so (I thank God) that it is no more, considering mine age." He then laments the evils of the times, and proceeds, "let it be our comfort, my Lord, that in God's good time he will remove us from those vexatious mutabilities. If there were anything in my power which I might contribute as grateful unto your Grace, I would not be wanting. However (according to the mutual obligation between us), I shall still commend your Grace to the protection of the Almighty, to the glory of saving grace in Christ Jesus. I am your Grace's in all dutiful acknowledgment, *Th. Duresm.* Jan. 20. 53."

About the year 1654, Cromwell saw fit to show favour to some of the suffering clergy, and amongst others, he invited the archbishop to visit him. The primate at first determined to decline that honour; but on further reflection he considered that such a refusal would only provoke still greater hostility to the clergy, while a soft word might turn away the usurper's wrath.

Accordingly he went, and was received by Cromwell with great show of kindness and civility. They were reported to have conversed upon the best means of promoting the protestant interests at home and abroad. It was also said, that Oliver Cromwell, either then or at some other time, bestowed a pension upon him. Dr.

Parr discredits this rumour,* but says that he remembers to have heard from the lord primate that Cromwell had promised to give him a lease for twenty-one years of some part of the lands of the archbishopric of Armagh, "which," he says, "my lord primate thought it no harm to accept, considering it was but his own, and which he had been deprived of above half that time; especially, in consideration of his daughter and many grandchildren, for whom he had as yet been able to do nothing; and if the church did happen to be restored before that time, it could lose nothing by this grant; and if not, he thought his children might as well deserve to reap the benefit of it as others."

Dr. Parr asserts confidently that Cromwell delayed passing this grant as long as the archbishop lived, and then refused to perform the promise to sir Timothy Tyrrel, on the ground of malignancy, that is, loyalty.

In the month of August that year, the archbishop was visited by Mr. Evelyn, as appears from the following compendious memorandum of their conversation, extracted from the Diary of the latter.

"1655. Aug. 21. I went to Rygate to visit Mrs. Cary at my Lady Peterboro's, in an antient monastery well in repaire, but the parke much defac'd; the house is nobly furnish'd. The chimney-piece in the greate chamber, carv'd in wood, was the property of Hen. 8, and was

* Dr. Bernard, on the contrary, relates that some years after his losses in Ireland, "the parliament had been bountiful towards him in an annual stipend; but the last two years of their sitting, it fell out to be suspended. After their dissolving, the care of him was renewed by his highness the lord Protector, by whose order a constant competent allowance was given him, for his subsistence, which contented him, and which I received from him to his last, with other very considerable sums extraordinary."

taken from an house of his in Blechinglee. At Rygate was now y^e Archbishop of Armagh, the learned James Usher, whom I went to visite. He received me exceeding kindly. In discourse with him, he told me how greate the losse of time was to study much the Eastern languages; that excepting Hebrew, there was little fruite to be gather'd of exceeding labour; that besides some mathematical bookes, the Arabic itselfe had little considerable; that the best text was y^e Hebrew Bible; that y^e Septuagint was finish'd in 70 daies, but full of errors, about which he was then writing; but St. Hierom's was to be valued next the Hebrew; also that the 70 translated the Pentateuch only, the rest was finished by others; that the Italians understood but little Greeke, and Kircher was a mountebank; that Mr. Selden's best book was his 'Titles of Honour;' that the church would be destroyed by sectaries, who would in all likelihood bring in poperie. In conclusion, he recommended me to the study of philologie above all human studies; and so with his blessing I tooke my leave of this excellent person, and returned to Wooton."

The archbishop's friends and contemporaries were now falling around him, and a few months were to make up the sum of his own days. His wife was no more; and early in this winter he lost a friend, whom for many reasons he valued very highly; this was Mr. Selden. Being particularly requested to preach that distinguished person's funeral sermon, he performed the last sad office for his friend in the Temple Church, where he was buried, and upon that occasion declared, that "he looked upon the person deceased as so great a scholar, that himself was scarce worthy to carry his books after him."

That winter was notable for one of the most illiberal and tyrannical measures that was put in force even in

those times. It was the Declaration of the Protector and his Council, issued Nov. 24, 1655, which made it penal for any persons to keep in their houses any of the sequestered or ejected ministers in the capacity of chaplains or tutors; it forbade any such ministers to keep either a public or private school; and likewise made it penal for them to preach to any others than the members of their own families, to perform any of the offices of religion, or to use the book of Common Prayer.

The provisions of this declaration were to come in force on the first day of the approaching month of January.

By this act of wanton severity the cup of misery was filled to the brim for the poor persecuted clergy. Evelyn thus describes what he saw and felt on Christmas day: "Dec. 25. There was no more notice taken of Christmas-day in churches. I went to London, where Dr. Wild preached the funeral sermon of preaching, this being the last day, after which Cromwell's proclamation was to take place, that none of the church of England should dare to preach, or to administer sacraments, teach schools, &c. on paine of imprisonment or exile. So this was y^e mournfullest day that in my life I had seene, or y^e church of England herselfe since y^e Reformation; to the great rejoicing of both papist and presbyter. So pathetic was his discourse, that it drew many tears from the auditory."

Destitution and wretchedness seemed to be advancing upon the clergy with the fatal first of January. The archbishop pronounced this proceeding to be "such a transcendent barbarism, impiety, and highway to extirpate religion, as the Pope and Jesuits themselves could not have invented the like; and one which exceeded all foreign persecutions against protestant ministers in Piedmont, Bohemia, and Silesia, by popish princes." And Prynne, who heard him so express himself, although no

friend to the clergy, afterwards quoted his words with approbation.

The extremities to which they were now reduced compelled the distressed clergy to entreat some of their brethren to venture to intercede with Cromwell in their behalf; and, as he had professed some respect for the archbishop, they besought him to plead their cause, and obtain for them permission still to serve God in their private congregations, according to the liturgy of the church of England.

The venerable old man undertook their cause. He availed himself of many opportunities of mediating for them, for the space of more than a month, and, in company with Dr. Gauden and others, presented a petitionary remonstrance on the 4th of February.

At one of these interviews the archbishop obtained from Cromwell a promise that the clergy should not be molested, provided they meddled not with any matters relating to his government.

A second interview took place, in order that the promise might be ratified and put into writing. The archbishop found Cromwell in the hands of his surgeon, who was dressing a great boil which he had on his breast; so the protector begged the lord primate to sit down awhile, adding that when he was dressed he would speak with him.—“Whilst this was doing, Cromwell said to my lord primate,—‘If this core (pointing to the boil) were once out, I should quickly be well.’ To whom the good bishop replied;—‘I doubt the core lies deeper; there is a core at the heart that must be taken out, or else it will not be well;’—‘Ah!’ replied he (seeming unconcerned), ‘so there is indeed!’—and sighed. When they proceeded to speak of the business in hand, Cromwell stated, that he had further considered the matter, and that since

the last interview he had advised with his council about it ; and that they thought it not safe for him to grant liberty of conscience to those men whom he deemed restless implacable enemies to him and his government ; and so he ended the conference."

The aged prelate, troubled and heartsick, returned sorrowfully to his home, and retired to his chamber. When his friends presented themselves to him, he complained with tears in his eyes of the defeat of his charitable mission. He also declared his belief that God would not long prosper so unrighteous a cause. "This false man," he said, "hath broken his word with me, and refuses to perform what he promised; well, he will have little cause to glory in his wickedness, for he will not continue long. The King will return; though I shall not live to see it,—you may. The government both in church and state is in confusion; the papists are advancing their projects, and making such advantages as will not long be prevented."

Having thus failed of success, to his deep disappointment and sorrow, he went down once more to his country retirement at Reigate.*

There he pursued his literary occupations as usual for a few weeks, being desirous of completing his work on Sacred Chronology, to which he devoted the greater part of his time each day. Though far advanced in years, he was yet still blessed with as much health and vigour as commonly fall to the lot of his period of life. His sight, however, had been so greatly impaired by severe study, that he could only see to write in strong sunshine, and therefore was obliged to follow the rays from one window to another.

* Walker represents this occurrence as having so affected the archbishop's spirits as to hasten his death.

But he was fully satisfied that the days of his pilgrimage were nearly accomplished. And as he was wont on his birthday in January, every year, to set down his age in his almanack ; so, on its recent return in 1656 he had entered the following remark with his own hand :—" *Now aged 75 years. My days are full !*" and just below, in capital letters,—RESIGNATION !

So also, not long before his death, Dr. Parr, his chaplain, went down to see him at Reigate, and preached a sermon on the text, *Colossians* iii. 1, 2. at which he was present. After service he conversed with his chaplain, as his custom was, on the subject of the discourse. "I thank you," he said, "for your sermon. I am going out of this world, and I now desire, according to your text, *To seek those things which are above, where Christ sitteth at the right hand of God*, and to be with Him in heaven ; of which we ought not to doubt, if we can evidence to ourselves our conversion, true faith, and charity, and live in the exercise of those christian graces and virtues with perseverance ; mortifying daily our inbred corruptions, and renouncing all ungodliness and worldly lusts. And he that is arrived at this habitual frame and holy course of life is the blessed and happy man, and may rejoice in hope of a glorious eternity in the kingdom of heaven, to receive that inheritance given by God to those that are sanctified."

Dr. Parr afterwards went away, considering that these were the frequent topics of his aged friend's conversation, and not expecting that those anticipations were so soon to have their fulfilment.

The archbishop, however, was acting wisely in thus girding himself for his departure. On the 20th of March, having passed all the earlier part of the day as usual in study, he went to visit a sick lady, then in the house, and

spoke to her in so heavenly a manner of holiness, death, and future glory, that it seemed as if, like Moses upon mount Pisgah, he had then a prospect of the celestial Canaan.

That night he complained of a little pain. Next morning it increased greatly, and the attempts to remove it were ineffectual. These sufferings he bore with christian patience; but his strength was rapidly sinking, and he felt that the time of his departure was at hand. During a little interval of ease, he availed himself of the help of the chaplain of the house in prayer; and then, addressing himself to those who stood around his bed, spoke to them of life and death, and particularly besought them to prepare for their end while they were yet in health, that at the last they might have nothing else to do but to resign their souls to God in his good time.

He next took leave of the countess of Peterborough, thanking her for the kindness and friendship which she had exercised so largely towards him for several years, and giving her, as his last return, some counsel respecting the interests of her soul.

He then desired to be left alone, that he might think more calmly of his approaching change, and disengage his heart and mind still more from earthly things; and thus, amidst holy meditation and communion with God, he fell asleep, in sure and certain hope of the resurrection to eternal life through our Lord Jesus Christ.

The last, and they are memorable words, which this holy man was heard to utter, were, "O Lord forgive me, especially my sins of omission!"

So terminated the mortal life of this man of God; and although the chamber of death is a dark chamber, and the house of mourning a gloomy house, yet, where the Sun of Righteousness has shone upon the departing spirit,

the survivors may well be taught not to sorrow like others who have no hope, for surely the bitterness of death has passed away.

The countess of Peterborough, desirous of showing every mark of regard to her departed friend, proposed to deposit his mortal remains in her family vault at Reigate. But while the necessary arrangements were being made, an order was issued by Cromwell, forbidding the burial at Reigate, and appointing a public funeral. The protector was probably induced to take this step both by his respect for so pious, learned, and moderate a prelate, and by the hope of promoting his own popularity by doing honour to one who was so highly esteemed by persons of all ranks. However this might be, his contribution towards the expense of this pompous ceremonial was not sufficient to save the family of the archbishop from very heavy expenses, which they were very little able to bear.

So distant a day as the 17th of April was appointed for the funeral. On that morning the body was removed from Reigate, and was met near London by the coaches of most of the persons of distinction who were then in town. At Somerset-house the clergy joined the procession, and accompanied it into Westminster Abbey. The body being brought into the choir, Dr. Nicholas Bernard preached the funeral sermon, taking for his text, 1 Samuel, xxv. 1. *And Samuel died, and all Israel were gathered together, and lamented him and buried him.*

After the sermon, the coffin was conveyed to St. Erasmus's chapel, and deposited in a grave adjoining that of sir James Fullerton, who had been his tutor in early life.

Multitudes had assembled to witness these mournful solemnities. The piety, learning, and worth of the de-

ceased primate were well known and highly appreciated, and tears were shed from many eyes.*

At the time of his death, the archbishop was possessed of very little property. Some gold which he had by him, and his library, constituted the whole of it. The latter consisted of nearly ten thousand volumes, besides prints, and manuscripts, which during his prosperity he had intended to leave as a legacy to the university of Dublin. But his daughter had a large family, and, as she had never received any fortune from him, he bequeathed all that he had to her.

The king of Denmark and cardinal Mazarine desired greatly to purchase these books, and offered a liberal price for them. But Cromwell forbade their being sent out of the country; and afterwards, when the army in Ireland purchased the library, in order to present it to Trinity college, he threw some difficulties in their way, and caused it to be placed in some rooms in Dublin castle, from which many of the manuscripts were lost. At the restoration, the king presented them to the college, where they still form a valuable part of the library.

* A few days before the funeral, a weekly newspaper, entitled *Mercurius Politicus*, informed its readers of the arrangements which had been made, in the following terms: "We had information, that the funeral of that reverend, pious, and learned man, Dr. Usher, late Primate of Ireland, will be upon Thursday the 17th of April. The body is to be brought that morning from Ryegate to George's Church, in Southwark, by 12 o'clock; where such friends as intend to honour the funeral may be pleased to meet the corpse: and from thence to Somerset-house, in the Strand; where, at one o'clock, those of the ministry and others may conveniently meet to accompany the corpse to Westminster Abbey, there to be interred in the chapel. And Dr. Barnard, of Gray's-Inn, is to preach the funeral sermon."—*Mercurius Politicus*, April 3 to 10.

Most heartily do we join in the pious desire with which Dr. Parr concludes his *Life of Archbishop Usher* ; that God “ would appoint and continue in his church a constant succession of such lights ; and that, particularly within his majesty’s dominions, these churches may still flourish under the like pious, watchful, laborious, and exemplary ministers and bishops, who may adorn the gospel and their own profession ; for the confutation of the adversaries of our religion, and the conviction of all those who clamour against the doctrine, government, and godly worship now established in the church of England.”

The virtues of archbishop Usher sprang from christian principles. From the morning of life, the light of divine truth shone upon his heart, and by its influence reformed his thoughts, directed his designs, purified his affections, and governed his deportment in word and conduct.

In him we behold in an eminent degree the qualities which constitute the christian gentleman. With an unshaken adherence to his Saviour’s laws and a desire to diffuse their influence, his manner was yet so courteous, affable, and kind, that his admonitions were never taken amiss. “ He was of so sweet a nature,” says Dr. Parr, “ that I never heard he did an injury or ill office to any man, or revenged any that had been done to him, but could readily forgive them, as our blessed Lord and Master enjoins. Nor envied he any man’s happiness, or vilified any man’s person or parts ; nor was he apt to censure or condemn any man upon base reports, but observed the rule of the son of Syrach, *Blame not before thou hast examined the truth.*” When we consider that his acquaintance was very extensive, and included persons of very different opinions, it would be difficult for us to estimate the amount of service which he rendered to

the cause of peace, good order, and sober piety, in times of political and religious ferment, by the light of his daily conversation, and by his personal influence.

His own opinion of himself, however, was meek and lowly; and often, when he beheld and admired the virtues of others, his mind reverted to his own state with an humble sense of his great deficiencies.

The happiness he enjoyed was the fruit of his piety, and he naturally wished to sow the same seed as extensively as possible. When he found anywhere that melancholy was mixed with religion, as tares with the wheat, he would lament that any persons should, by their sadness, alarm those who were newly disposed to forsake their sins and to serve God, or should make it appear that their Master's yoke was heavy and his commands grievous. "Sincere Christians," he would say, "ought to rejoice in the Lord, and those who have reason to be miserable are only the vicious and irreligious."

He was always pleased with the society of good and wise persons; and his own conversation was enlivened by a fund of entertaining and instructive anecdotes. To rich and poor alike he was ready to impart the fruits of his knowledge and experience, and was continually doing good as a religious adviser. In the most tender and persuasive manner he warned those who were walking in evil ways. Those who were halting between two opinions he often had the happiness of persuading to make a better choice: and he was successful in removing the doubts and scruples of tender consciences; in giving comfort to afflicted souls; and in raising up those who had fallen, with renewed strength for future trials.

It was his custom after discussing with his friends any nice questions of theology, history, or chronology, to close the conversation with this friendly exhortation,

‘Come let us now talk a little of Jesus Christ;’ hoping that thus they might be kept alive to the importance of personal religion.

Archbishop Usher’s fame had reached far beyond the limits of his native land. Professor Spanheim of Geneva declared that Usher was known wherever honour was awarded to piety, and value set upon learning. Gerard Voss pronounced him worthy of perpetual remembrance and gratitude for his attainments in sacred and profane learning. By others he was styled “the great Usher,” “a most excellent servant of God,” “one whose breast was a living library,” and “an honour to the church and the age;” and eminent writers in our own country conceded to him unqualified praise, for his incredible learning and rare knowledge of antiquity, no less than for his sweet and pious conversation, so as to justify Dr. Johnson’s opinion that archbishop Usher was “the great luminary of the Irish church.”

To these notices we need only subjoin bishop Burnet’s excellent sketch of the character of this admirable prelate. “In his conversation he expressed the true simplicity of a christian; for passion, pride, self-will, or the love of the world, seemed not to be so much as in his nature; so that he had all the innocence of the dove in him. He had a way of gaining people’s hearts, and of touching their consciences, that looked like somewhat of the apostolical age revived; he spent much of his time in those two best exercises, secret prayer, and dealing with other people’s consciences, either in his sermons or private discourses; and what remained he dedicated to his studies, in which those many volumes that came from him shewed a most amazing diligence and exactness, joined with great judgment. So that he was certainly one of the greatest and best men that the age, or perhaps the world, has produced.”



THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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THE LIFE
OF
DR. HAMMOND,
1605—1660.

CHAPTER I.

HIS EARLY LIFE—MINISTRY—AND TROUBLES.

Brighter than rainbow in the north,
More cheery than the matin lark,
Is the soft gleam of Christian worth,
Which on some holy house we mark.—*Christian Year.*

SEASONS of severe affliction have usually been the most productive of holiness in the church of Christ; and, if we estimate the goodness of God by the abundance of the harvest which he supplies, we cannot hesitate to pronounce that times of trial are times of especial mercy. The tender plant of true religion then grows healthy under the fertilizing dews of God's grace; the stem that bent beneath every wind becomes strong in the Lord and in the power of his might; the weeds, which in quiet times would have grown to maturity, are, under the same influence, blasted by the breath of sorrow; and the infirmities which so easily beset the best of fallible beings are thus restrained from swelling into crimes.

And such, during many years of the lives of archbishop Usher and Dr. Hammond, was the condition of that branch of the church of Christ to which they were

affectionately attached ; and as the body suffered, so all the members suffered with it, and they amongst the rest. But the gold was purified by the fiery trial ; and to the grace and providence of an all-wise God, who makes the most evil things work together for the good of those that love him, we may attribute the excellence of the christian man and minister, whom we are now about to propose as an example worthy of imitation ; and who was particularly estimable for his anxiety to prove all things by the test of truth according to the abilities which God had given him ; his moderation in maintaining his opinions at a period of great provocation, his ardent piety, and his blameless life.

Henry Hammond was born in the village of Chertsey, in Surrey, on the 18th of August 1605. His father, Dr. John Hammond, had been professor of Greek at Cambridge, and was physician to the amiable and pious prince Henry, (brother of Charles the first,) who was godfather to the subject of this memoir, and gave him his own name at the baptismal font.

At an early age Henry was sent to Eton, where he soon distinguished himself by his proficiency in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, the latter of which languages was very much neglected in those times. He was a peaceable and sweet-tempered boy, and so impressed with religion that he would often withdraw himself from the circle of his schoolfellows, and retire to places of privacy for the purpose of prayer and reflection.

In 1618, being thirteen years old, he was sufficiently advanced in learning for the university, and was accordingly sent to Magdalen college, Oxford, of which he was afterwards chosen a demy, in July 1622.

Here he enjoyed the society of many friends who were eminent for learning and piety ; and amongst others, he

was on terms of intimacy with a youth of great promise, refined taste, lively imagination, and extensive reading, in the person of Jeremy Taylor, whose recorded sentiments on the subject of friendship reflect a pleasing light upon the character of those to whom he extended his regard. He considered that such are to be chosen for our friends who are able to give us counsel, to restrain our wanderings, to comfort us in our sorrows; who are pleasant to us in private and useful in public, who will make our joys double, and alleviate by sharing our griefs.

In December 1622, Henry Hammond was made bachelor of arts. Not long afterwards, he was appointed reader of the natural philosophy lecture in his own college; and was selected to deliver a funeral oration on the death of Dr. Langton, the president. In June 1625 he took the degree of master of arts; and in the following month was advanced to a vacant fellowship.

About the same time he began to study the writings of the Fathers, thinking it best to resort to primitive sources of information, before he suffered himself to be prepossessed by the views of modern authors. The opinions which he thus formed may reasonably claim our respectful attention, when we consider that during the whole period of his residence in the university, he usually devoted thirteen hours a-day to reflection and study.

In the year 1629, being then twenty-four years of age, he entered into holy orders; but probably still remained in Oxford till 1633, when an occurrence took place which led unexpectedly to his preferment. Dr. Frewen, the president of Magdalen college, being also chaplain to the king, appointed Mr. Hammond to supply one of his preaching turns at court; and the earl of Leicester, happening to be present, was so well pleased with his sermon, that he immediately offered to him the vacant rectory

of Penshurst in Kent, which was in the earl's gift. This was a hasty mode of filling up so responsible an office, but the event proved that the preferment was well bestowed.

Mr. Hammond was inducted into the living on the 22nd of August in the same year, and at once took up his abode in the midst of his flock, where he devoted himself to the discharge of those duties of the pastoral care which the providence of God had assigned to him, and for which he felt that he must give account. In public and private he was diligent and earnest in his vocation, at the same time endeavouring so to order his own steps that the sheep might follow him safely.

Here he thought that the interests of religion would be promoted by assembling the congregation for prayer more frequently than was commonly done, and therefore either he or his curate performed public worship once every day at Penshurst church, besides twice on Saturday and Sunday, and on every holiday. In those days few of the poorer people could read, and therefore it was important for them not only to have such assistance in their devotions, but to enjoy frequent opportunities of hearing the Holy Scriptures, that they might become wise unto salvation.

As he preached constantly on Sunday morning, so in the afternoon he catechised the younger part of the congregation, employing about an hour before the time of prayer in that exercise. On these occasions he explained in an easy and familiar way the doctrines and duties of the christian religion, taking as his guide the catechism of the church of England; and he thought that the parents and aged people, who generally attended to hear him, reaped even more benefit from the instructions then delivered than from his sermons. He was always much interested about the spiritual welfare of the young, and, being convinced of the importance of early training in

the right way, he availed himself of these opportunities of setting before them the happiness of a religious life, and the good effects of remembering their Creator in the days of their youth. And, with a view to render his endeavours more effectual, he provided at his own cost an able schoolmaster, whom he maintained as long as he continued to be the minister of the parish.

The poor of Penshurst soon learned the advantage of having one placed amongst them who sympathized with their distresses, and was able to relieve them. He dedicated to charitable purposes a stated weekly sum, in addition to a tenth of his income. He often purchased corn, to sell again to the people below the market-price ; and was ready to lend little sums to those who had fallen into unforeseen calamity, permitting them to repay him by instalments. These acts of beneficence were his pleasures ; and he often declared them to be the sources of unmingled gratification, feeling the truth of the scriptural saying, that *it is more blessed to give than to receive.*

He saw fit to celebrate the communion once a month, thinking it right to approach nearer to the primitive frequency than was then usual in country places. And on these occasions his instructions and example recommended liberality so strongly, that the collections rendered it unnecessary to levy a poor's-rate ; nay, means were supplied for apprenticing the children of the indigent parishioners.

It is recorded of at least one poor family, that they partook of his kindness long after his removal from Penshurst, and even to the close of his life. He sent them his practical works ; paid for the education of one of the children ; and wrote friendly letters to the father, saying, that he should receive any reply with pleasure.

He always watched for opportunities of exciting and

increasing a sense of religion in the hearts of his people ; and knowing well that no season is more favourable than when the mind is subdued and softened by ill health, he was frequent and diligent in visiting the sick, and was often found at their bed-sides without being sent for.

He lived on the most friendly terms with all his parishioners and neighbours, for he did not lose sight of that important caution which Joseph gave to his brethren, *See that ye fall not out by the way* ; and he was so successful in diffusing the spirit of that admonition as to be the happy cause of reconciling many who were at variance with each other.

While he highly disapproved of a luxurious and extravagant mode of living, he remembered that a christian ought to be given to hospitality, and considered that by such means he might "increase and preserve mutual love and charity amongst men:" and therefore his table was often spread, though in a plain and simple way, for the entertainment of his neighbours.

His own habits were always abstemious. When in good health he usually took only one meal in twenty-four hours ; and his seasons of fasting were of very frequent recurrence. He saw in the New Testament many tokens that fasting was approved of by our Saviour, and was much impressed with the direction of St. Chrysostom, that as we forsake the publican's sins, and retain his humility, so we should avoid the pharisee's pride, but not neglect his performances, amongst which was fasting. It also appeared to him to have its uses as an exercise of self-denial, an expression of humility, and a means of keeping under the body and bringing it into subjection. And as the season of abstinence ought, in his estimation, not merely to be a time of bodily humiliation but of self-examination, confession, and prayer, he approved of its re-

currence as often as "piety and the Spirit of God might prompt," consistently with a "due care of health," and regulated his own practice accordingly. He set apart for that purpose two days in the week, and three during Lent and the Ember-weeks, abstaining altogether from food at those times for thirty-six hours. But he remembered and followed our Saviour's caution to his disciples, that they should appear not to men to fast, but only unto their Father which is in secret.

Such was the course of self-mortification which the rector of Penshurst, as well as many other devout persons, thought to be conducive to the benefit of his soul, and practised during his whole life. He probably recommended a similar discipline to his parishioners as the means of purifying their affections and humbling their spirits; speaking of the sanction given to fasting by the word of God, and at the same time cautioning them against the errors and extravagances into which the papists had fallen. Occasion might have been given for such admonitions by the provisions of an old law, which were still observed in the parish of Penshurst. In the reign of Edward the sixth, an Act had been passed enjoining the observance of fish-days, (so the statute terms them,) on the grounds that "due and godly abstinence is a mean to virtue," and that "fishers may thereby the rather be set on work, and that by eating of fish much flesh shall be saved and encreased." By another statute of like intent, which passed in the fifth year of queen Elizabeth's reign, the clergy were empowered to grant to their parishioners licences to eat meat on the fish-days under certain circumstances, and particularly in case of sickness; and if there were occasion to extend the licence beyond eight days, then it was to be entered in the church-book. A document of this kind is still to be seen

in the register-book at Penshurst, in the hand-writing of Mr. Hammond. It is as follows; "Memorandum, that Sr. John Rivers and his lady, bringing certificate from Paul Dove, physician, of their indisposition of body, and so of hurt that might come to them by eating of fish in time of Lent, had licence given them to eate flesh by mee, Henry Hammond, Rector of Penshurst, for the space of eight days." Below this sentence the leaf is torn; but a few words remain which seem to intimate that the licence was granted in compliance with the above-mentioned statute of Elizabeth, and that as sir John and his lady desired to have it renewed, it was registered, according to the provisions of the act, in presence of one of the churchwardens.

The privacy of Penshurst was agreeably relieved by the society of Mr. Hammond's mother, a pious and virtuous lady, who resided with him. But retirement could never be irksome to one whose library was ever a source of renewed pleasure. At this time, and as long as he continued to preach, he made his studies tributary to his sermons, gathering together at the close of the week the stores which he had collected for that purpose since the preceding Sunday.

He was frequently invited to exercise the work of the ministry in more public scenes, and we find that he sometimes preached in London at Paul's Cross.* It is related

* This was a wooden pulpit, mounted on stone steps, and covered with a canopy of lead, which stood in the open air, in old St. Paul's church-yard. The chief purpose for which it was used was as a place for the delivery of sermons every Sunday, in the forenoon, by clergymen appointed by the bishop of London. For keeping up these, many liberal benefactions were bestowed; and as some of the clergy had to travel from the universities or elsewhere, the Lord Mayor and court of Aldermen ordered, in the year 1607, that every one that

that on one of these occasions he made almsgiving the subject of his sermon, and assured the congregation that the performance of this duty was "the certainest way to compass riches." Dr. Potter, who was afterwards dean of Worcester, was present at the time, and, being moved by what he heard to resolve "diligently to follow the counsel and expect the issue," became noted for his generosity and bounty to the poor. At a later period of his life, Hammond published that very sermon; and it so happened that a gentleman who called to see him, speaking in praise of the dean, related this anecdote, not knowing that he was addressing the very preacher who had been the means of exciting so much liberality. Hammond, considering that an opportunity of doing good was now presented to him, declared that it was he who had preached, "and here," he added, "let me commit that sermon into your hands, desiring that Almighty God may give it the like effect on you."

In the year 1639 he took the degree of doctor in divinity, and this country pastor performed the requisite exercises in a manner which excited the admiration of the learned residents in the University.

In 1640 he was elected a member of the convocation which was called with the short parliament, and was soon after nominated one of the Assembly of Divines; but, considering that body to be opposed to all that he valued as a loyalist and episcopalian, he refused to be present at their deliberations, and his name was erased by parliamentary authority.

In 1643 Dr. Brian Duppa, bishop of Chichester, ap-
should preach there, should "at his pleasure be freely entertained for five days' space, with sweet and convenient lodging." A copy of an ancient engraving of Paul's Cross, and a fuller account of it, appeared recently in No. 30 of the Saturday Magazine.

pointed Dr. Hammond archdeacon of that diocese, the duties of which office he subsequently executed with great zeal and prudence. The church seemed then to be entering a sea of trouble, and his heart's desire was to conduct her through it in a spirit of piety, purity, and christian harmony. These he recommended as being the duty and the interest of the clergy; and he felt their importance so warmly, that often, branching off from his written discourse, he spoke to his audience with force and feeling, out of the abundance of his heart.

Dr. Hammond, while he resided at Penshurst, was happy in the service of God and the affections of his parishioners. But the brightest day is liable to be darkened by clouds, and now the atmosphere was heavily charged, and a storm seemed to be at hand. Real and imaginary grievances had wrought the country into a ferment, and many, in whom the religion of Christ ought to have implanted a milder and holier spirit, excited and encouraged the bitterest feelings against those who loved the king and the church. And how should Dr. Hammond escape? A city that is set upon a hill cannot be hid.

Bearing, however, his share of evil as well as good report, he remained amongst his own people until after midsummer 1643. In July, that year, the royalists in the neighbourhood of Tunbridge made some unsuccessful efforts in behalf of the king, and Dr. Hammond was suspected of having aided the attempt by his influence and example. He was certainly a zealous loyalist, but whether he used any specific exertions on that occasion is not at present known. However, a disposition to eject him had been already evinced by a committee invested by parliament with certain powers; and now a presbyterian minister, who wished to succeed to the living, avail-

ing himself of the opportunity afforded by the recent occurrence, made no small stir about the rector's active loyalty; and Dr. Hammond, deeming it unsafe to remain any longer in the neighbourhood, secretly withdrew from Penshurst, with many a heartfelt sigh for the sorrows of his country and the madness of the people.

His flock lamented the loss of their pastor and friend; and amongst other evidences of their tender regard which afterwards ministered consolation to him was the kindness of one of his neighbours, who, when the sequestrators dishonestly sold the rector's household property, purchased all the books, and preserved them for Dr. Hammond until the end of the civil war.

The asylum towards which he directed his flight was the residence of his old friend and tutor Dr. Buckner; Dr. Fell has omitted to record the name of the place. Here he arrived in disguise at an early hour on the 25th of July, and found that he was not the first who, having been driven from his home, had sought refuge in that abode, for another friend and fellow-pupil, Dr. Oliver, had arrived there for the same purpose a few days before.

Although the christian is taught to consider temporal affliction as light and momentary, he feels what the most sacred authority fully admits, that at the time it is not joyous but grievous. Dr. Hammond was much depressed by his present troubles, and stood in need of a more than ordinary share of grace and support. He often afterwards remarked that, amidst all the vicissitudes of his life, no season had been more distressing to him than that in which he was bereft of a flock endeared to him by mutual kindness and the ties of religion, and thrown into the company of his sorrowful friend, a partaker of the same sufferings.

Three weeks passed mournfully away in this retirement, when an alarm was brought that a reward of one hundred pounds had been offered for the arrest of Dr. Hammond. Upon this he agreed with Dr. Oliver to depart immediately ; and as the latter had friends at Winchester, which city was then the king's quarters, they determined to remove thither, and sent a servant to prepare for their reception. Meanwhile news came from Oxford to Dr. Oliver, that he had been chosen President of Magdalen college in the room of Dr. Fréwen, who was made bishop of Lichfield. These events changed the plans of Dr. Oliver ; he resolved at once to make the best of his way to Oxford, and proposed to his friend to accompany him. This Dr. Hammond at first declined, being fearful that he might be apprehended in so public a place, and unwilling to settle so far from his living, to which he hoped to return when the storm was allayed. But on receiving some letters which damped these hopes, he complied with Dr. Oliver's wishes, and passing through Hampshire, after a difficult and anxious journey arrived in Oxford, "where, procuring an apartment," says Dr. Fell, "in his own college, he sought that peace in his retirement and study which was nowhere else to be met withal : taking no other diversion than what the giving instruction and encouragement to ingenious young students yielded him (a thing wherein he peculiarly delighted) ; and the satisfaction which he received from the conversation of learned men ; who, besides the usual store, in great number at that time for their security resorted thither."

Some of his hours were now employed in preparing for the press his *Practical Catechism*. This work he had originally written to assist him in his parochial duties at Penshurst, and he was only induced to publish it by the

persuasion of Dr. Potter, the provost of Queen's college. Even then he withheld his name, and committed all the care of conducting the work through the press to his friend ; who took that opportunity of acknowledging in the preface, that he had received much benefit by the perusal of it, adding " I humbly beseech God that it may have the like energy in the breasts of all that shall read it, that we may have less talking, less writing, less fighting for religion, and more practice."

Dr. Hammond was naturally of a diffident disposition, and long after his influence as an author was established, he expressed surprise at the success of his writings, when compared with those of others whom he accounted his superiors.

The *Practical Catechism* soon passed through several editions, all, after the first, bearing his name ; and, whether we judge from the character of its contents, or from the frivolous nature of the objections of Cheynell, we have sufficient to account for its extensive popularity.* Emboldened by the reception of this work, he soon after published several short papers and tracts on subjects respecting which he saw that the minds of the people had been led astray. As he now thought that he should be heard with attention, he was unwilling to suffer those errors to exist without an attempt to remove them ; he therefore applied himself to dispel the delusions and fallacies by which men were then led to oppose the established church. He warned those who professed to be governed by *conscience*, to beware of mistaking their

* Bishop Burnet, in his *Pastoral Care*, pronounces it " a rare book" for students of divinity, and one which " states the grounds of morality and of our duty upon true principles." It is proper to notice, however, that his theological system is in some respects defective.

fancies and prepossessions for its dictates; he proved that everything we dislike is not necessarily a *scandal*; and defended the observances of the church from the charges of *will-worship* and *superstition*. He also wrote several treatises, full of learning and just reasoning, concerning episcopal discipline and government.

The studies of his early life had made admirable provision against this time of need; he brought forth from his stores things new and old; a singular rapidity of composition enabled him to draw out those treasures at the shortest notice;* and he wrote with a mildness which is accounted for by Dr. Fell's remark, that "his closet was his library, and that he studied most upon his knees."

In 1644 the court was at Oxford. The king had known Dr. Hammond at Penshurst, and accounted him "the most natural orator he had ever heard." On one occasion Charles had noticed to him some defect in his delivery in so kind a manner that Dr. Hammond always remembered that circumstance with gratitude; and the *Practical Catechism* was one of the books which king Charles recommended to his children in his last instructions. Hence it is not wonderful that towards the close of that year he was chosen to accompany the duke of Richmond and the earl of Southampton, when they were sent to London to propose a treaty for the settlement of the "unhappy differences in church and state;" and that he was one of the divines appointed by the king to assist his commissioners, in matters appertaining to religion, at the treaty of Uxbridge, which was the result of this mission, and met on the 30th of the following January.

At that important meeting the commissioners were

* Some of his publications, evincing much reflection and reading, on important subjects, and of considerable length, were written in a single night.

limited to three topics of discussion, namely religion, the militia, and Ireland; and they were to devote three days to each, after which they were to return to the subjects in the same order for as many days more.

In the first debate upon religion, Mr. Henderson appeared on the side of episcopacy, and Dr. Stewart on the part of presbytery; and each advanced a claim to divine right.

At the second meeting some of the other divines took part in the discussion, and Dr. Hammond had Mr. Vines for his antagonist. The latter opened the proceedings by reading a long paper, "wherein," says Dr. Fell, "were interwoven several little* cavils and exceptions which were meant for arguments." On this deviation from the usual mode of debate, Dr. Hammond drew forth his pen, and took notes of those remarks which he thought worthy of an answer; and immediately after, handled the subject in so masterly a way, that, according to the same authority, he "dispelled with ease and perfect clearness all the sophisms that had been brought against him." And after the treaty, Dr. Hammond, as we learn from his letter to a friend, went to his opponents, and in his own name and that of his brethren, offered further satisfaction upon any part of the argument, and proposed a publication of the conference by mutual consent; and when both of these were declined, he next suggested that nothing should be published by either party without the consent or knowledge of the other, which was accordingly promised.

It is probable that neither the king nor the parliament expected peace to be the issue of this conference; the demands on both sides were too high; and after twenty days they separated, having effected nothing.

While Dr. Hammond was engaged in this business the king appointed him to a vacant canonry of Christ Church

in Oxford, and the university elected him to fill the office of public orator. His heart was still with the people of Penshurst, but his friends represented to him how improbable it was that he should be restored to his living, and he accepted the distinction thus conferred upon him. He was shortly after made chaplain in ordinary to the king.

Oxford was soon to become the scene of strife and confusion. Throughout the year 1645 the royal cause had continually declined, and at length the king, fearful of being enclosed in Oxford by the parliamentary forces, determined to withdraw himself privately from that city. Accordingly, on the 27th of April 1646, he set out with only two attendants, and, arriving at Newark about nine days after, threw himself into the hands of the Scottish army.

About three months after, namely on midsummer day, Oxford surrendered on certain conditions. The constancy of the university to the royal interests had already reduced her to great extremities. The plate and money of the colleges were exhausted, the private resources of individuals had been drained to the utmost, and the triumph of her enemies, which she was now constrained to witness, seemed all that was wanting to complete her mortification and wretchedness.

Even the articles of surrender were unscrupulously and instantly violated. The university had stipulated for the continuance of her ancient government, and the preservation of her privileges and property, without fine or other molestation on account of the part she had taken in the civil war. No sooner however were the army possessed of the place, than the Commons issued an order forbidding the university to fill up any vacant fellowships or other places, or to make or renew any leases. Upon this Dr. Hammond, as public orator, was deputed to re-

monstrate against so open a violation of articles to which the army was pledged. But the cause which the university had espoused was tottering to its fall, and therefore the remonstrance was ineffectual.

From that time till the work of ejection and spoliation was finished, Oxford was the principal residence of Dr. Hammond. He had been appointed sub-dean of Christ Church, and in that office he gave encouragement to virtue, learning, and diligence; devised "stratagems to ensnare the idle to a love of study;" exhorted the students so to prepare for the impending persecution that they might not suffer as evil doers; and received many at his weekly private exercise of fasting and humiliation. He was also the generous helper of the friendless in those troublous times. After supplying his own small wants, he employed the rest of his means in warding off from others the day of indigence and misery; and even when his resources were greatly contracted, he contrived by prudent management to reserve a considerable part of his income for purposes of charity. Poor scholars were particular objects of his beneficence; and amongst those who shared his bounty was the eminent and learned Isaac Barrow, who many years after recorded his grateful recollections, in an excellent epitaph which he wrote on the death of his generous benefactor.

In order that the duties of his official situation might not prevent the prosecution of his studies, Dr. Hammond now usually gave up many hours of the night to literary pursuits, frequently not retiring to rest till three in the morning, and yet seldom failing to be present at prayers at five o'clock.

He was sometimes called away from the university to attend upon his royal master, who requested the presence of some of his chaplains whenever the ruling powers saw

fit to allow him that privilege. But that was only at intervals. When the Scottish army delivered him into the hands of the English commissioners, he was placed in rigorous confinement at Holdenby, and cut off from all communication with his old servants, his chaplains, his friends, and his family. In his lonely meditations he expresses himself with much feeling upon the harsh exclusion of his spiritual advisers, "whom," he says, "for their functions I reverence, and for their fidelity I have cause to love. By their learning, piety, and prayers, I hoped to be either better enabled to sustain the want of all other enjoyments, or better fitted for the recovery and use of them in God's good time. . . . But my agony must not be relieved with the presence of any one good angel." When the army got possession of the king's person, they took off this restraint, and we find that Dr. Hammond visited him at Woburn, Caversham, Hampton Court, and Carisbrook Castle. But at Christmas, 1647, access was again cut off.

Meanwhile, the university was in a very great strait, and stood in need of all the judgment, prudence, and energy, of such a son as Dr. Hammond. The enemies of the church were inflamed to fresh efforts by their repeated successes, and at length brought about the famous Oxford Visitation.

In September 1646, parliament had sent down seven divines to advocate its cause from the university pulpit, and to preach against loyalty, episcopacy, and the liturgy. These preachers zealously executed their commission, and used all diligence in making all things ready for an ordinance for visiting the university; which was accordingly passed on the 1st of May 1647. This instrument appointed twenty-four visitors, and empowered them or any five of them to take cognizance of any crimes alleged

against members of the university,—to take evidence upon oath against such as refused to take the solemn league and covenant, had borne arms in favour of their king, or opposed the ordinances of parliament concerning discipline and the directory,—and to “certify the vacancies of those who should be found guilty of any of the aforementioned offences” to a committee of about seventy-five members of the houses of parliament, whose decisions were to be final.

The visitors arrived on the third of June, but the university contrived by various ingenious expedients to delay the work of spoliation for some months. The authority of these inquisitors was denied, and their strings of questions returned unanswered. At length, however, they were enabled to begin in good earnest. On the fifth of October they deprived Dr. Fell* of the office of vice-chancellor, and although he continued to discharge its functions for a few days, yet his resistance was but of short duration, for on the 12th of that month he was sent in custody to London.

After this they proceeded to make other vacancies with unsparing hands. Dr. Hammond was called before them to answer their enquiries; but, as he declared that he could not recognise the authority by which they acted, and declined giving them satisfaction, he was summoned to appear before the higher court, which sat in London. Finding there that he might be represented by counsel, he returned to Oxford, where he soon resisted the visitors again, by refusing to publish Dr. Fell's ejection.

One who was a chaplain to the king, showing such tokens of disaffection towards his sovereign's enemies, was not likely to escape their vengeance; and, on the 30th

* The father of Dr. Hammond's Biographer.

of March 1648, his name was found in a list of members of the university whom the London committee ordered to be forthwith expelled. The charges brought against him were, that he refused to submit to the visitors, that he was concerned in drawing up certain *Reasons* which were presented to the convocation against the authority of that visitation, and that he would not publish the visitor's orders for the expulsion of several members of Christ Church.

On the 1st of April, these instructions having arrived, the visitors marched to the hall of Christ Church, whence they sent a musketeer to the subdean's lodgings, to take Dr. Hammond into custody, which having done, they erased his name from the college books, and instead of their usual practice of sending expelled members out of Oxford by beat of drum, and so throwing them on the wide world, they kept him for many weeks in confinement.

The generosity exercised by the loyalist laity towards the suffering clergy is beyond all praise. It seems like one of those verdant spots which refresh the traveller's spirits in the waste and howling wilderness. While Dr. Hammond remained in this captivity, many pressing offers of pecuniary help were sent to him from different quarters, and one at least of these was from a gentleman wholly unknown to him, who happened to be passing through Oxford. But although his own past munificence must have left him at this time in very scanty circumstances, he accepted the assistance of only one of these friends.

Soon after his arrest, the visitors wished to remove him and Dr. Sheldon, the warden of All Souls, to Wallingford castle, but colonel Evelyn, the governor, although no friend to the loyalist clergy, was moved by a sense of jus-

tice to declare that if they were brought to him he should treat them as friends and not as prisoners. They were therefore detained at Oxford; and notwithstanding the king's request, they were not permitted to attend him at the treaty of the Isle of Wight, which took place about that time. The king then desired to see a sermon which he had heard Dr. Hammond preach about a year before, and this wish was cheerfully obeyed.

It was during this imprisonment that Dr. Hammond formed the design of writing his *Annotations on the New Testament*; a work over which he passed many hours of pleasant and improving occupation during the ensuing years of his life, and which is still often quoted, and much valued for its learning and piety.

After about ten weeks of confinement at Oxford, he was removed, through the interest of his brother-in-law, sir John Temple, to the house of sir Philip Warwick at Clapham in Bedfordshire; whence he forwarded an *Address*, dated Jan. 15, 1648, to the general and council of officers, reprobating their design of bringing the king to trial; and where he afterwards heard with mingled anguish and indignation that his sovereign had fallen by the hand of an executioner. The sorrow occasioned by the violent death of one whom he so revered as a king and loved as a man made him seek more diligently the consolations of the gospel, with fasting and prayer. He also resumed his studies, which of late had been so much interrupted; made considerable progress in the *Annotations*; composed a treatise on the *Reasonableness of the Christian Religion*; and wrote his answer to Blondel, in Latin, in favour of *Episcopacy*, for which he obtained the warmest thanks and praises of his "loving friend and brother," archbishop Usher, as well as of many other persons of note and learning.

Amidst these pursuits, one more affliction befel him. He learned that his mother was dangerously ill; but he was neither permitted to soften her pillow by the consolations of religion, nor to close her eyes at the last. All royalists were banished from within twenty miles of London, where she resided at the time of her death. But it is happy for the disciples of Christ that their friendships and affections are not buried in the grave, and that the hope of meeting hereafter, and living together for ever in a better world, may soothe the anguish of the most distressing separations.

Towards the close of the year, Dr. Hammond was released from all restraint, and, taking leave of Clapham, he removed to Westwood * in Worcestershire, the seat of sir John Pakington, an eminent loyalist.

In this Memoir, as well as that of archbishop Usher, we have made some reference to the general condition of the clergy from the time of their ejection to the Restoration; and we propose to give, in the next chapter, a sketch of their distresses, and of the causes from which those calamities sprang, hoping thereby to evince the special goodness of God in providing so amply for the comfort of these excellent persons, as well as the occasion for that active kindness with which they in their turn endeavoured to procure relief for their impoverished brethren.

* Westwood has been the property of the Pakingtons from the dissolution of the monasteries, but their residence only since the civil war, when their house at Hampton Lovel being too much damaged to be inhabited, they enlarged the house here, which had been built in the reign of Elizabeth, as a lodge or banqueting-house.—*Gough's Camden*.

CHAPTER II.

SUFFERINGS OF THE CLERGY.

The widow'd church to weep stood by ;—

The world, to hate and scorn.—*Christian Year.*

THE overthrow of the church of England and the deep distresses of her clergy were mainly owing to the furious and misdirected zeal of a religious party, who, from professing to advocate a purer mode of worship than that which was then established, were commonly denominated puritans. Glancing at their early history, we find that the persecuting spirit of queen Mary compelled vast numbers of English protestants to seek refuge from her cruelties in foreign countries ; and that many of these, forsaking the forms of public worship which they had used at home in the reign of king Edward the sixth, adopted the doctrine, discipline, and services, of Calvin and the church of Geneva. In too many instances, the exiled protestants, divided in opinion and practice, fell into hot contentions in the towns where they settled ; and afterwards, at the accession of queen Elizabeth, bringing with them into England those unfriendly feelings towards each other, implanted that disunion within the church of Christ which good men have ever since deplored.

Both these parties, however, were for a long period advocates of uniformity, and the object of contention was not toleration but pre-eminence. When the church was restored by queen Elizabeth, the puritans, with the exception of a very few congregations, did not separate from its communion, but, remaining within its pale, used

all their energies to effect extensive alterations, and pleaded for the general adoption of their own schemes and principles. The chief objects of their desires were, the suppression of episcopacy, and the substitution of presbytery; the reconstruction of the church, after the ecclesiastical laws and institutions of Geneva; the disuse of all forms of prayer, and of all ceremonies or practices which bore the smallest resemblance to those of the Romish worship. These views may be considered as the characteristic marks of the party down to the time of the troubles in the reign of king Charles the first, when their demands became still more extensive; till at length, having it in their power to execute all their purposes, they altered the whole constitution of the church, and ruled the nation with a rod of iron.

The general deportment of the puritans was strict and grave; as ministers of the gospel they were diligent and zealous; peculiar earnestness and warmth distinguished their preaching; and they frequently assembled their people privately for prayer. Works of great piety and excellence remain to attest that many of them were powerful advocates of religion and virtue. By such means they naturally and deservedly gained a share of public esteem; and the coercive measures pursued towards them, being more commonly vexatious than severe, were just such as might increase their popularity, without answering the purpose for which they were intended.

But in order that the hostility they met with may be fairly understood, it is necessary to mention that they certainly gave great provocation, inasmuch as they endeavoured to effect the overthrow of the established religion, and interfered so warmly with the things of this world, opposing the existing government and promoting discontent, as to bring upon them a continual suspicion

of being bad and factious subjects. It ought also to be carefully kept in mind, that, in the estimation of those times, toleration was accounted by all to be nothing less than the protection of error. "Much as every religious party in its turn had suffered from persecution," says the lamented bishop Heber,* "and bitterly as each had in its own particular instance complained of the severities exercised against its members, no party had yet been found to perceive the great wickedness of persecution in the abstract, or the moral unfitness of temporal punishment as an engine of religious controversy. Even the sects who were themselves under oppression exclaimed against their rulers, not as being persecutors at all, but as persecuting those who professed the truth; and each sect, as it obtained the power to wield the secular weapon, esteemed it also a duty as well as a privilege not to bear the sword in vain." It was left for Jeremy Taylor, so late as the year 1647, to fix this principle on an imperishable basis, in his *Discourse of the Liberty of Prophesying, with its just limits and temper, showing the unreasonableness of prescribing to other men's faith, and the iniquity of persecuting different opinions*: in which he made "the first attempt on record to conciliate the minds of christians to the reception of a doctrine which, though now the rule of action professed by all christian sects, was then, by every sect alike, regarded as a perilous and portentous novelty." •

Amidst the contentions which raged between Charles the first and the parliament, the puritans increased in number, weight, and boldness. A few, probably, here and there, kept aloof from the civil dissensions, and devoted themselves to the service of God. But generally they threw themselves into the stream of popular discontent,

* Life of Jeremy Taylor.

and accelerated its headlong force by the fervour of their politics, no less than of their religion. Every stage of the king's decline was a stage of their advancement ; and, as the prospect of success opened, they became bolder in their zeal against episcopacy and monarchy. Making their churches resound with political sermons and political prayers, they enlisted the services of many who would have turned a deaf ear to the gospel of peace ; and put a lighted match to fuel which would blaze, they regarded not how far, they knew not with what destructive fury.

In proportion as they entered more into the politics of the times, their religious character became less worthy of admiration ; instead of the strictness of piety and holy living, a fierceness of temper, a factious and insolent demeanour, became their distinguishing qualities ; in their long sermons they introduced severe reflections upon their opponents ; and many, like the notorious Hugh Peters, were more entangled in the concerns of this life than the clergy whose interference in civil affairs they so loudly reprobated. All that passed in the state was canvassed, on the day of religious rest, and during the hours which ought to have been employed in meditating upon the interests of another world ; and individuals were spoken of in a very pointed manner, and either complained of, or recommended to God, according as they were acceptable or odious to the preachers. Some strange delusion had blinded their eyes to the truths that blessed are the poor in spirit, the meek, the merciful, and the peacemakers ; and had brought them to suppose it to be their duty to excite tumult and disaffection,—to promote anarchy and bloodshed—to preach not peace but a sword. By some it was plainly declared that their righteous cause must be supported, even at the expense of royal blood ; and, although they differed greatly

amongst themselves, both as to political schemes and religious opinions, on one point they were unanimous, that the present state of things must be totally changed.

In the course of their proceedings these religious demagogues found that Hooker had well described the path which leads to popularity. "He that goeth about," says that wise man, "to persuade a multitude that they are not so well governed as they ought to be, shall never want attentive and favourable hearers. . . . And because such as openly reprove supposed disorders of the state are taken for principal friends to the common benefit of all, and for men that carry a singular freedom of mind, under this fair and plausible colour whatsoever they utter passeth for good and current. That which wanteth in the weight of their speech is supplied by the aptness of men's minds to accept and believe it."

Thus the cause of the puritans flourished, and every success emboldened them to strive for fresh advantages, till at length they had the house of commons under their control, overwhelmed the lords, destroyed the monarchy, swept away in the flood the episcopal church of England, and of course appropriated its temporalities to themselves.

The political preaching of the times was absolutely frightful; and sentiments were uttered by ministers of Christ and stewards of the mysteries of God which are shocking to a sober and pious mind. Teachers of religion called for the blood of Strafford, of Laud, and of the king; no political measure was sure of popularity unless it was advocated from their pulpits; destruction and misery were in their path, and the way of peace they did not know. "What soldier's heart," it was asked by one who preached before the Commons, so early as 1641, "would not start, deliberately to come into a subdued

city, and take the little ones upon the spear's point; to take them by the heels and beat out their brains against the wall? yet, if this work be to revenge God's church against Babylon, he is a blessed man that takes and dashes the little ones against the stones!" In 1643, the same preacher was suffered to speak thus before the same auditory:—"It is better to see people wallowing in their blood, rather than apostatising from God, and embracing idolatry and superstition. Leave not a rag that belongs to popery,—away with it, root and branch, head and tail!"

Another thus addressed the people in the presence of the Earl of Essex:—"Beloved, can you forget the soldiers? I say, the soldiers, who have spent their blood for Christ as Christ did for them; even their own precious blood in God's cause at Newbury."

One who preached before the Commons in 1644 represented the Supreme Majesty of Heaven as expostulating with them, and saying, "Will you strike? Will you execute judgment or will you not? Tell me: for if you will not, I will. I will have the enemy's blood, and yours too." The same preacher dared to pronounce this profane invitation to the holy communion;—"Ye that have freely and liberally contributed to the parliament, for the defence of God's cause and the gospel, draw near. . . ."

Often they expressly pointed out the king for destruction, in such words as the following, which were uttered before parliament in a sermon on prayer:—"This arrow will find a joint in Ahab's armour! Draw this arrow as Jehu did against Jehoram, with your full strength, and doubt not but it will, in God's time, smite our Romish Jehoram at the heart, and sink him in his chariot and chair of pride!" Another preached before the same

assembly, saying,—“Neither let your eyes spare though there are great ones that are guilty; the highest court may reach the highest persons.”

A preacher declared, that “If God did not finish the good work which he had begun in the reformation of the church, he would show himself to be a God of confusion, and such an one as by cunning and stratagems had contrived the destruction of his own children.” Another prayed thus:—“We know, O Lord, that Abraham made a covenant, and Moses and David made a covenant, and our Saviour made a covenant, but thy parliament’s covenant is the greatest of all covenants.” And a sermon, licensed and printed in 1645, contains an adaptation of the 136th psalm to the purposes of seditious exultation, after the following manner:—“O give thanks unto the Lord, for he is gracious, and his mercy endureth for ever; who remembered us at Naseby, for his mercy endureth for ever; who remembered us in Pembrokeshire, for his mercy,” &c. &c.

Such are some of the specimens which stand on record to show how the pulpit was prostituted to the vilest purposes in those days; they are here inserted in order to give some notion of the faction and fanaticism which were daily working upon the public mind, and Walker, from whose *Account of the Sufferings of the Clergy* they are taken, in remarking upon them, expresses the sentiments which they must naturally awaken in a well-regulated mind. “I am persuaded,” he says, “that any considerate person who did not know the event, would imagine that doctrines of blood and blasphemy, so abhorrent from the temper of the Gospel, must have created a great detestation of these men in all their hearers; but in fact it was quite otherwise. So much was the infatuation and delusion of those times, that the influence these

ministers and lecturers had upon the people was little less strange than the doctrines themselves. It is too well known to every one, how the women by these harangues were persuaded to part with their thimbles and bodkins in this righteous cause; and that *the blessed parliament* was the term which they had instructed all the people to call them by. . . . Colonel Axtel, who was afterwards executed, declared that himself, with many more, went to that execrable war with such a controlling horror upon their spirits from those sermons, that they verily believed they should have been accursed from God for ever, if they had not acted their part in that dismal tragedy, and heartily done the devil's work, being so effectually called and commanded to it in God's name."

It was in the year 1640 that the Commons saw fit arbitrarily to settle puritanical preachers and lecturers in all important places throughout the kingdom, and ample vengeance was soon taken for the long silence and constraint which had been imposed upon them by the authority of the high commission. At this early period of the troubles, the presbyterians were by far the most numerous and influential of all the enemies of the church.

The measures of spoliation and ejection which commenced in the same year, were chiefly carried into effect by means of committees. One of the most notorious of these was the committee appointed to try *scandalous* ministers — a comprehensive appellation designed to include all who might be obnoxious to the party in power. Before such a body it might be supposed that charges would be brought against the clergy, dictated by private animosity and by a variety of improper feelings. Yet it is singular how few cases deserving of reproach the lynx eye of jealousy and hatred could discover, and how gene-

rally the enemies of the church were obliged to have recourse to two grand objections ; the one, being that the clergy were tainted with popery, the other that they were guilty of malignity, which meant loyalty.

The cry of popery was occasioned by an attachment to certain usages which those who made so much clamour ought to have known to be perfectly distinct from the sinful corruptions of that church ; and Dr. Hammond, in one of his publications, compares it to the ancient practice of dressing up the martyrs in the skins of animals, in order to induce the savage beasts to fall upon them more eagerly.

Malignty was more easily proved ; the solemn league and covenant (which amongst other things engaged those who took it to promote the destruction of prelacy) was proposed to them, and, if refused, it was considered that the charge was established.

This committee also tenderly protected the lecturers appointed by parliament. If a clergyman dared to refuse his pulpit to these political divines, he was sent for by the committee, and kept in custody till the next meeting of parliament. He was thus detained to his serious inconvenience and expense ; and, fearful of the injury which must be sustained, even where the issue was most favourable, the clergy usually submitted to such intrusion, for fear of the losses consequent upon a refusal.

Besides these systematic aggressions, gross offences of a more disorderly character were common and unrepessed. The sanctity of the tomb was violated ; sacred edifices were profaned in the most indecent manner ; and the clergy openly insulted in the midst of their holy function. No virtues, charities, or piety, could save them ; calvinists and arminians suffered alike ; and often a band of fanatical soldiers would thrust the preacher out of his pulpit,

tear the book of common prayer into fragments, and vent upon the astonished congregations the fervour of their heated imaginations.

Lest anything should escape the notice of the London committee, bodies of inquisitors were soon after organized in all the counties and principal towns in the kingdom, and empowered to sequester the temporalities as well as suspend the spiritual functions of the clergy.

Armed with such authority, these committees subverted the existing form of church-government, dispersed the cathedral establishments, and confiscated their revenues ; they declared a large number of the livings throughout the country to be void ; and made the universities feel their iron sway. Aided by occasional *orders* of the Commons, they regulated the ecclesiastical affairs of the country till 1646, when the presbyterian form of ecclesiastical government and worship was established.

It has already been stated that Dr. Hammond was ejected from his living and from the offices which he held in the university of Oxford ; and as we have said that in the latter he had many fellow-sufferers, so now we must add that his companions in the former loss were infinitely more numerous.

By authority of the committee, above referred to, a great number of the clergy, (estimated by some writers to amount to seven thousand,) with their wives and families, were turned out of their comfortable homes, robbed of their furniture, and often of the whole of their private property, and thrown upon the wide world to seek a precarious subsistence from some unaccustomed occupation ; or at best made dependents upon the bounty of the generous but impoverished loyalists. No tyranny of king Charles ever equalled the tyranny of this parliament and their agents ; no measures of the star-chamber were more indefensible

than the severities of these countless star-chambers erected in every part of the country.

The bishop's houses were now turned into prisons for some of the unfortunate clergy who were thought worthy of bonds ; others were thrown into more comfortless confinement, with a view to extort a ruinous sum for their release ; many were imprisoned in the holds of ships ; and a project was at one time on foot for selling them to the Turks as slaves. Several were brought to trial, and condemned to die for their attachment to the cause of their religion and their king ; while the more ordinary barbarities of the times accelerated the removal of many out of the afflictions of the world. A considerable number made their escape to foreign lands, in the hope that they might receive from strangers that compassion which their native country denied them ; and although they were disappointed of the hospitality which they expected, and were minished and brought low, yet God helped them in their trouble by raising up for them friends in England, who transmitted contributions to them through the hands of the two friends, Dr. Jeremy Taylor and Dr. Hammond.

Yet even to raise contributions for those persecuted refugees was deemed a criminal act ; and as it is very probable that some of Jeremy Taylor's imprisonments were occasioned by his being detected as the channel of such benevolence, so we know that Dr. Hammond was brought into danger by his generous exertions in their behalf. Some persons who unworthily enjoyed his confidence betrayed him to Cromwell : and fully expecting to be harshly treated, he made up his mind to speak plainly and boldly to that singular man, and to remonstrate with him upon his unjust severities. Whether the opportunity was afforded to him is not quite clear,

but the issue was, that he received no injury at the hands of Cromwell, and experienced the truth of a favourite saying of his, that "they who least considered hazard in doing their duties fared always the best." And although it was not likely that he would escape so easily a second time, he did not hesitate to collect contributions with his wonted diligence for his afflicted brethren.

Those who remained in England were but too happy if they had saved from the general spoliation a wreck of their private property; and the benevolence of the royalist nobility and gentry was eminently seen in the succour and refuge which they afforded to these maligned and plundered outcasts.

If any ventured to exercise the ministry entrusted to them, it was rarely, and in secret, and at much hazard; it was dangerous for them to assemble congregations to hear the word of God, or for the orderly administration of the sacraments; and it was perilous to pray to God in the language of the liturgy, even in private houses.* While the wildest fanatics were suffered to agitate the minds of the multitude without molestation, the episcopalians alone were excepted from this toleration, and experienced the most severe and iniquitous treatment. "The usurper himself," says bishop Heber,† "was indeed, as is well known, averse to such measures, and personally well inclined, not only to many individuals of

* An ordinance to that effect was passed January 3, 1645. On the 23rd of August following, another ordinance was passed, imposing a penalty upon all who should use the Prayer-book, or refuse to adopt the Directory, or speak against it. It is not a little remarkable that this ordinance received its sanction on the eve of St. Bartholomew's day, just seventeen years before the impolitic and unjust, but not more severe, Act of Uniformity came into operation, as is so well known.

† *Life of Jeremy Taylor.*

the episcopal clergy, but even to their form of government. His inclinations were, however, obliged to give way to those of the zealots around him, and the whole history of the times evinces that wicked and unwise as was the retaliation which, a few years after, the episcopalians inflicted on their opponents, it was no more than retaliation after all, and what the opposite party therefore on their own principles had no right to complain of."

In order that there might be at least a semblance of humanity, the parliament, some years after the general ejectment of the clergy, pretended to allot to the families of their victims one-fifth of the revenues of their livings, ingeniously excluding the clergy themselves from any claim to the benefits of this measure. But often the ministers who had possession of their homes, their furniture, their income, their all, refused to contribute even this morsel of bread; the husband and father was probably eluding the vigilance of his enemies, lest the prison-ship should be his portion, and his wife could only seek redress by an expensive and tedious process, which often terminated in disappointment, insult, and beggary.

Shame and reproach were also among the afflictions of the clergy. No name was too contemptuous, or implied too degraded a character, to be affixed to them by their supplanters. They were pointed at as destitute of understanding, moral principle, and religion; as full of all subtlety and all mischief, children of the devil, enemies of all righteousness, perverters of the right ways of the Lord.

As long as the presbyterians held the reins of ecclesiastical affairs, they presented a strange sight to the world, by following the very footsteps of those whom they had denounced as frequenters of evil paths. Although they had decried the prayer-book, they enforced the use of the directory: although they had made such a stir about

their scruples of conscience, they had no tenderness for those of others ; their assembly of divines voted that the presbyterian form of church government was of divine right ; and, much as they had decried pluralities, they took possession of all that they could grasp. By such conduct Milton was provoked to use his powerful and caustic lash. He pronounced that the assembly of divines was "neither chosen by any rule or custom ecclesiastical, nor eminent for either piety or knowledge, above others left out ; only as each member of parliament in his private fancy thought fit, so elected, one by one. The most part of them were such as had preached and cried down, with great show of zeal, the avarice and pluralities of bishops and prelates, and that one cure of souls was a full employment for one spiritual pastor, how able soever, if not a charge rather above human strength. Yet these conscientious men, (ere any part of the work done for which they came together, and that on public salary,) wanted not boldness, to the ignominy and scandal of their pastor-like profession, and especially of their boasted reformation, to seize into their hands, or not unwillingly to accept, (besides one, two, or more, of the best livings,) collegiate masterships in the universities, rich lectures in the city, setting sail to all winds that might blow gain into their covetous bosoms ; by which means these great rebukers of non-residence, among so many distant cures, were not ashamed to be seen so quickly pluralists and non-residents themselves, to a fearful condemnation doubtless by their own mouths." He then inveighs against their tyrannical conduct, and declares that their disciples did "manifest themselves to be no better principled than their teachers ;" seeking "gainful offices," which they discharged "unfaithfully, unjustly, unmercifully, and, where not corruptly, stupidly. So that be-

tween them, the teachers, and these, the disciples, there hath not been a more ignominious and mortal wound to faith, to piety, to the work of reformation, nor more cause of blaspheming given to the enemies of God's truth since the first preaching of reformation."

The presbyterians often desired the interference of the civil power in matters so trivial as to expose them to ridicule. On one occasion a deputation of the London divines went to the protector, to complain that the episcopal clergy "got their congregations from them, and debauched the faithful from their ministers." "Have they so?" said Cromwell, "I will take an order with them," and moved as if he was going to say something to the captain of the guards; when turning short,—“But hold,” he said, “after what manner do the cavaliers debauch your people?” “By preaching,” replied the complainants; “Then preach them back again,” said the protector, and left them to their own reflections. This anecdote certainly shows the temper of these people better than a much longer description. The preaching, which they accounted so great a grievance, was probably in private houses where congregations assembled every Sunday, as we learn from the frequent mention of them by Evelyn and other contemporary writers; but we also know that archbishop Usher was permitted to exercise his ministry publicly in the church till the time of his death, and it is possible that some other clergymen may have enjoyed the rare favour of a similar exemption from the general silence imposed upon their brethren.*

* The episcopalians were for a long while, probably during the greater part of the commonwealth, permitted to meet at St. Gregory's, a small church adjacent to St. Paul's cathedral.

In the year 1658, Kidder, (afterwards bishop of Bath and Wells,) having been then recently ordained by one of the old bishops, was

When the power of the presbyterians began to be surpassed by that of the independents, the clergy experienced a change of masters but not of treatment; they were still insulted, persecuted, and afflicted.

Such was their condition till the Restoration; and who would have wondered if, on the occurrence of that joyful event, when the country was weary of the puritans, every living in the kingdom which they held had been at once declared void? At first, however, nothing more was done than to restore to their preferments those of the ejected clergy who survived, and negotiations were immediately entered into with a view to the settlement of the affairs of religion, so as to satisfy all parties. These however proved worse than fruitless; they appear to have been approached on both sides with very little disposition to conciliate or make concessions of any kind, and, terminating in a most unsatisfactory manner, were followed by the act of uniformity, some of the provisions of which were deplorably impolitic and unjust. Between the puritan ministers who were removed from preferments to give place to the clergy whom they had supplanted, and those who were deprived for refusing to conform, about two thousand, consisting of incumbents of livings, fellows of colleges, lecturers, and curates, were ejected from the restored national church.

not prevented from holding a country living, to which he had been presented by his college at Cambridge, of which he was a fellow. But such cases were of rare occurrence.

CHAPTER III.

IN RETIREMENT.—HIS DEATH.

And he whose mild persuasive voice
 Taught us in trials to rejoice,

* * * *

Why comes he not to bear his part,
 To lift and guide the exulting heart?

A hand that cannot spare

Lies heavy on his gentle breast;

We wish him health: he sighs for rest,

And Heaven accepts his prayer.—*Christian Year.*

“I HOPE we have learned,” said Dr. Hammond, “to want, as well as to abound, and to trust God, that can feed the young ravens when the old have exposed them, for the feeding of us and of our families, though all our present means of doing it were taken from us.” These were his words at an early period of those troubles, and now he found that his expectation was not in vain. A small patrimony, which the hand of oppression had not reached, gave him something to expend in charity, and sir John and “the good lady” Pakington ministered to his comfort at Westwood with the greatest kindness.

His disposition and attainments were such as to make him an acceptable inmate of that mansion; his temper was remarkably placid; his tongue free from guile; his mind was active, sensible, and well informed; he had a pleasant and easy way of expressing himself in conversation; and he had a good voice and a taste for music, and could sing a little.

It was not long after his arrival at Westwood that the fatal battle of Worcester took place; and before the en-

gagement he waited on Charles the second, and received from that prince a letter expressive of his attachment to the church of England, in whose faith his royal father had lived, suffered, and died.

When the king escaped after that unhappy defeat, Dr. Hammond gratefully acknowledged the mercy of God, and prayed "that the Lord, who had thus powerfully rescued the king out of Egypt, would not suffer him to perish in the wilderness; but though his passage be through the Red Sea, He would at last bring him into Canaan, and that he might come out of his tribulations, as gold out of the fire, purified but not consumed."

Dr. Hammond's studies now proceeded without many interruptions; he rose from his bed at four or five o'clock, rarely so late as six, and did not retire to rest till midnight; for he was both fond of learned research, and so sensible of the snares which lay in the path of idleness, that he had acquired a deep aversion to it, and always besought others to shun its dangers. Even while he dressed, his servant read to him, and in this way he became acquainted with the contents of several volumes; and as he took his walks through the shady avenues which surrounded the mansion of Westwood, a book was his constant companion. To the end of his days he husbanded his time, acting upon the maxim, that we should take care of our minutes, and "thinking it a great folly to spend that time in gazing upon business which should have served for the doing of it."

He principally devoted himself to the study of theology and church history; and some of the most pious, learned, and moderate works of the day were the fruits of his reading and reflection. If he erred, it was not designedly, or for want of due meditation and prayer; and when his opinions excited angry feelings or occasional intemperate

language in others, he who had been careful to "draw the teeth" as he termed it, (that is, to avoid giving just provocation to any person in his writings,) rendered neither evil for evil, nor railing for railing. So greatly had he gained the mastery over his temper, that some persons who were his companions during the ten latter years of his life never heard him utter an intemperate expression ; and Dr. Fell observes that several of his antagonists were led by the mild spirit in which he wrote to regret the violence which disfigured their own productions.

To be peaceable, gentle, and full of good fruits, was his idea of a christian's duty, and he endeavoured to shut out the temptations to neglect these things by frequent communion with God. Considering that at Westwood his time was at his own disposal, he devoted the more of it to the *Father which seeth in secret*, and his seasons of prayer exceeded David's *seven times a day* ; these he so religiously observed, that if any necessary business or charity had encroached upon the time, he repaired the loss by absenting himself from the family repast. Nor were these devotions cold and wearisome in consequence of their frequency ; he was truly fervent in spirit ; and in the ordinary services of the church, which so many reproached with being tame and lifeless, tears often ran down his face.

In his private prayers he not only made known his own wants, but likewise interceded for the whole race of mankind. He could not approve of "that thrift and narrowness of mind to which we are so prone, confining our care either to ourselves and relatives, or at most, to those little angles of the world that most immediately concern us." He therefore pleaded in behalf of those who were in any manner of adversity ; for the sick

and needy ; for the clergy and suffering royalists ; for the persecutors of his brethren ; and for those who had done him any injury ; and he was never satisfied that he had really forgiven such persons until he had asked pardon for them from God.

The family at Westwood assembled twice a-day for prayer, using the services of the church of England ; and Dr. Hammond usually conducted their devotions. In addition to this, he preached a sermon on the Sunday mornings, and persisted in this work of the ministry even when illness rendered it scarcely possible. In the afternoon he catechised the children, inviting the servants to be present, and adapting his instructions to the capacities of both. And so strongly did he feel the importance of what he expressed on those occasions, that he was grieved if the seed appeared to be sown by the way-side ; and often under these disappointments retired to his closet, to inquire whether they might not be attributed to some defect in himself, which by due care he might remedy.

He also invited any of the household to private interviews for conversation upon religious subjects : and when they came, encouraged them in a most condescending and kind manner to speak their minds ; and then, having patiently listened to their difficulties, he proceeded to use his best efforts to remove them. And when he heard that any were sick, he soon found out their chamber, and endeavoured to establish, strengthen, and settle them in the faith and fear of God.

The same desire to promote personal religion was manifested by his efforts in the neighbourhood. He knew that the soul was beyond all other possessions in value, and wished that men were wise enough to ponder this truth and to live accordingly. He deeply lamented that

so many were betrayed in that age into careless and irreligious courses ; and, in his endeavours to lead any into the way of peace, he would exclaim—"O, what a glorious thing—how rich a prize for the expense of a man's whole life were it—to be the instrument of rescuing any one soul !" He therefore went about as one who watched for souls, because he believed that "spiritual conference, which is at all times very profitable, yea, and pleasant to every diligent humble student," is highly conducive to the "countermining and eradicating of sin, mortifying this or that passion, rage, or other sensual desire, and contending for the highest exaltation and improvement of our natures, all growth in grace, and the practical knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ."

The young were now, as they ever had been, particularly interesting to him ; he thought that they should be led early into the paths of righteousness, and that this would be the most likely way of bringing about a national reformation. At one time he had proposed that every pastor should pursue a regular course of instruction in the doctrines and duties of the gospel "with all the youth of his parish which had not yet come to the Lord's Supper : " and although these endeavours might be thrown away upon many, yet he considered that, through the blessing of God, an abundant harvest would repay the toil of this spiritual husbandry, thus pursued towards the young and tender plants in the vineyard. Being thrust out of his parochial charge, he was precluded from acting on such a plan ; but the mind which proposed it was not less intent upon promoting the spiritual welfare of the young, by such means as yet remained within his power. He gained their affection and confidence ; he then represented to them the beauty, pleasure, and advantage of a

pious life, and the deformity and misery of sinful courses. Such were the sentiments which he mingled with his other instructions to sir John Pakington's children, (for he devoted the interval between morning prayer and dinner to their education); and such he endeavoured to instil into the minds of all whom he met. He also strenuously warned them against being ashamed of their religion. "You ought to be as open," he would say, "in your regard for the gospel, and as bold in leading others to God, as wicked men are in serving the cause of satan. Instead of always acting on the defensive part, you should be forward to attack the enemy, and this you will find not only a great service to your neighbours but the best security for yourselves." Nothing was in his estimation more dangerous in the christian's warfare than a truce and the cessation of hostilities; and he considered a parley with sin, of any degree, to be no less than treason against God and our own souls. Hence he went on to say—"While we fight with sin we shall be safe, even in the fiercest shock of opposition, for no attempts can hurt us till we treat with the assailants; temptations of all sorts having that good quality of the devil in them, to fly when they are resisted." Such remarks he would make to persons of all ages, but he found that young and unestablished christians particularly required these cautions and encouragements. And when he wished to give to any young person a few memorable words of advice, he would say—"Withstand the first overtures of sin; be intent and serious in what is good; and make choice of a wise and virtuous friend."

Dr. Hammond was a frequent visitor of the sick in the neighbourhood. "The time of sickness," he observes, "or any other affliction, is like the cool of the day to Adam, a season of peculiar propriety for the voice of

God to be heard in the mouth of his messengers, and so may, by the assistance of united prayers for God's blessing on his own instruments, be improved into a very advantageous opportunity of begetting or increasing spiritual life in the soul; and cannot, without great guilt of unkindness and treachery to that most precious part, be neglected or omitted by us." In performing this office he often encountered the danger of infection without fear, for he felt that "he should be as much in God's hands in the sick man's chamber as in his own."

His mode of dealing with those who, after spending their lives in sin, professed to repent at the last, is worthy of particular attention. "The course I would prescribe to others or observe myself," he says, "is not presently to make haste to apply comfort to that man, (meaning by comfort, words of pardon, or promise or assurance that his sins in this state shall certainly be forgiven); but to dispense my comfort discreetly, and so that I may lay a foundation on which he may more safely build, and I more infallibly ascertain comfort to him; I mean by preparing him to a right capacity of it, by increasing yet farther in his heart, and rooting as deep as I can, the mourning which, if sincere, hath the promise of comfort (Matt. v. 4.), the sorrow for sin, the humiliation and indignation at himself, the vehement desire, the zeal, the revenge, the all manner of effects of godly sorrow, and indeed by doing my utmost in perfecting this so necessary work in him; which if by the help of God it be done, and those graces deeply rooted—through a consideration not only of the instant danger, but detestable ugliness of sin, the provocation offered to a most gracious Father, and most merciful Redeemer, and sanctifying Spirit, together with all the other humbling matter from the particular sins and aggravating circumstances

of them—it will then be that *godly sorrow* which the apostle speaks of, and that will, if God afford space, bring forth that repentance which consists in a sincere change and reformation, a change or amendment which will not be retracted; and then there is no doubt that to him which is in this estate mercy infallibly belongs, and to him I shall then hasten to ascertain it [declare it]. And yet of this mercy, if I, through some error or neglect of mine, should not give him—nor he himself, through the greatness of his sorrow, and the flood of tears in his eyes, otherwise find—any comfortable assurance, yet is he by God's immovable promise sure to be partaker; and all that he loses by not being assured of it here by me, or by his own spirit, is the present comfort and joy of some few minutes, which will soon be repaired and made up to him at death by God's wiping off all tears from his eyes with a 'Come thou blessed of my Father, thou hast cordially mourned and [been] converted, and thou shalt be comforted.' Whereas, if I should go about too hastily and preposterously to grant him any such comfortable assurance that he were already accepted—I mean not now that he should be accepted if his change be sincere or his sorrow such as would bring forth that change, for that conditional comfort I have all this while allowed him, but positive assurance for the present upon a view of such his sorrow—I might then possibly raise him up too soon, before the work were done, the plant rooted deep enough: and that were utter ruin to him by giving him his good things, his comfort, here, to deprive him of it eternally; or at the best, to refresh him here a little beforehand, but not at all advantage him toward another life. And so the best way must be to humble him unto the dust, if so be there may be hope; to set him his only task of working out his salvation with fear and

trembling, laying hold on God's mercy in Christ, his general but conditional mercy for all penitent, purifying sinners, for confessors and forsakers, and none else, and so labouring for that sorrow, that purity, that confession contrition, and forsaking."

Feelingly alive to the danger and uncertainty of what is called a death-bed repentance, Dr. Hammond made his visits in such cases with a heavy heart. His conduct on one occasion may serve to illustrate the preceding remarks. A gentleman who had spent an evil life, apprehending that death was near at hand, desired to have an interview with Dr. Hammond. The friends of the sick man neglected his wishes, and did not send for the minister until the patient was in the last agonies of death. When Dr. Hammond arrived, he saw that nothing could then be done except to pray for the departing spirit, and to warn the living by the example of the dying; he therefore fervently besought God to pardon the poor object before him; lamented that so little account should be taken of an immortal soul; and entreated that others, and in particular the companions of that unhappy person's vices, might learn by this example "how improper a season the time of sickness, and how unfit a place the death-bed is, for that one great important work of penitence, which was intended by Almighty God to be the one commensurate work of the whole life."

Although Dr. Hammond's income was now very small, he still reserved a portion of it for the poor; he always "came down with exceeding alacrity when it was told him that a poor body would speak with him; and listened with kind attention to the tale of woe. Others he found out in the course of his walks; and some were made known to him by persons whom he requested to re-

commend proper objects. One anecdote will illustrate this part of his character better than the longest description of it.

The piety of a poor and sickly weaver, named Houseman, who lived near Westwood, had attracted the attention of Dr. Hammond, who afterwards took great pleasure in visiting him, lending him books, and conversing with him about their contents. Knowing that the poor man's weakness prevented him from earning a livelihood by his trade, he "invited him, nay, importuned him, still to come to him for whatever he needed; and at his death left him ten pounds as a legacy. A little before which fatal time, he and the Lady Pakington being walking, Houseman happened to come by, to whom after the Doctor had talked awhile in his usual friendly manner, he let him pass; yet soon after called him, with these words;—Houseman, if it should please God that I should be taken from this place, let me make a bargain between my lady and you, that you be sure to come to her with the same freedom you would to me for anything you want;—and so, with a most tender kindness gave his benediction. Then turning to the lady, he said, Will you not think it strange that I should be more affected at parting from Houseman than from you?"

Dr. Hammond considered that life loses half its charms if we have no friend to partake of our joys and to sympathise with our sorrows; and declared, that for his part he "had no such way of enjoying anything as by reflection from the person whom he loved, so that his friend's being happy was the surest way to make him so." Influenced by these feelings, he endeavoured to promote the formation of friendships, recommending them both by his writings for the public, and by his conversation and example in private life; and when he

heard that any of his acquaintance, who were mutually attached and congenial in tastes and studies, had it in their power to live near together, he pointed to those as the happiest persons that he knew.

In his own lot, he found abundant cause to be grateful that a merciful Providence had blessed him with so many constant friends, and afforded him so many opportunities of seeing them. Besides his kind benefactors, sir John and "the good lady Pakington," many others of the eminent clergy, besides himself, were inmates of the mansion at Westwood. Fell, his biographer, Dr. Morley, and Gunning, found an asylum there. He occasionally visited his "dear and most intimate friend" Dr. Sanderson. He calls Jeremy Taylor "my very worthy friend;" and, being associated with him in collecting the contributions for the loyalists abroad, must have had much communication with him. Isaac Walton was another of his friends; and, as he sometimes went to London, he had opportunities of conversing with archbishop Usher and many others. At the same time he maintained a friendly intercourse with several of his acquaintances, by a correspondence upon learned questions and the proceedings of the literary world.

He accounted love, rather than reverence, to be the tie of a permanent and valuable friendship; and amongst its proper fruits he reckoned a concern for the spiritual welfare of each other. "It is every christian's part," he would say, "at least to choose out somebody as a monitor, that may keep a daily watch over him, be it the friend, the son of his love, the wife of his bosom, or any that is not too ignorant, too blindly fond, or too pusillanimous to discharge it." He wished this care to extend to the most minute particulars:—"Should we only endeavour to keep our friends from scandalous offences, we should

be like a physician who only guards his patients against the plague." If a long interval elapsed without his receiving any seasonable reproof, he began to fear that he had lost his friend ; and, when told what part of his character was open to improvement, or what failing he ought to shun, he was grateful for the admonition, and immediately made a practical use of it. And in turn he candidly, but tenderly, noticed to his friends in private the faults which he observed in their tempers or conduct. He would remark, that " he that is overtaken in a fault, if there be not some good Samaritan near to have pity on him, to pour soft but healing oil into his wounds, and so to bind up and restore him again, may unhappily lie so long in his sin that there be no more life left in him ; the repulsed grace of Christ in this case constantly withdrawing itself, and not ordinarily returning again to those noisome dwellings which have once so grieved and banished Him out of their coasts. By which you will discern the advantage of a seasonable friend, the benefit of a timely cure."

Thus choosing his friends on the highest grounds, there was one consequence which, besides their usefulness in spiritual things, deserves a perpetual memorial. " Whom I trusted to be my friend," he said, " all I had was in his power ; and by God's blessing I was never deceived in my trust."

In the sorrows of the land Dr. Hammond recognised the judgments of God ; and he believed, that if a " sincere change and thorough reformation" were manifest in the " poor calamitous kingdom," peace and happiness, truth and justice, religion and piety, would again flourish and abound. He lamented the prevailing bitterness and animosities, the contentions about trifles, the calumnies and misrepresentations ; he wished that men professing

themselves christians, would be more studious of entering the way of peace, and more industrious in persuading others to pursue the same path. He reminded them that "it was anciently resolved, that Christianity, wherever it entered in its purity, did plant all manner of exact and strict conscientious walking; all humility, meekness, purity, peaceableness, justice, charity, sobriety, imaginable; that wickedness and dissolution of manners was to be looked on as the only heresy, and good life revered as the only orthodox profession." He desired them to pray Almighty God to restore "that heavenly grace and incomparable blessing of christian peace and holy communion among all that have received the honour of being called by his name, that we may all mind the same things, fix the same common designs, love, and aid, and promote one another's good, unanimously glorify Him here with one tongue and heart, that we may all be glorified with him, and sing joint hosannahs and hallelujahs to him to all eternity."

Such were the petitions of his own prayers, and such the tendency of his example. He prayed for the wider diffusion of pure religion, with all its excellent and beneficent fruits; and openly declared his desire "to be an example of peaceableness and of a resolution to make no more quarrels than are necessary," and therefore to contribute his best endeavours to heal the wounds under which religion was then suffering. And as he knew that heartfelt prayers are precious in the sight of God, so he did not doubt that some acceptable offering would be cast into the sacred treasury, "by the poor widow church of England, with her few mites."

The principles of that church, and the form of her government, he had examined conscientiously; and he believed that her doctrine was strictly scriptural, and her

episcopacy conformable to apostolical usage; he "loved and admired the beauty of her fabric, even when she lay polluted in her blood, and wished no greater blessing to her dearest friends, or (for whom he daily prayed) most implacable enemies, than that of old Bartimeus for himself, "Lord, that they may receive their sight; that the scales may fall off from all our eyes, that we may see and value what is so illustriously conspicuous and estimable in itself, and not so blear our sight with the observation of the miscarriages in this kind, as not to discern or value the designation [purpose, or intention,] which, if the abuses, and excesses, and mistakes that have crept in, in that matter, were timely discerned and removed, and that which is christian and apostolical revived, and restored in prudence and sobriety, might yet again show the world the use of that prelacy, which is now so zealously condemned, and recover at once the order and estimation of it; set more saints on their knees in petitions for the restoring, than ever employed their hands towards the suppressing of it." And pondering, as he says, "the tempers of men, and the so mutable habits of their minds," he felt confident that in a few years, when the pleasure of the change should cease with its novelty, "reason would come back in the cool of the day, and the nation would again build up the prostrate church."

Meanwhile he employed all his energies to comfort and sustain her in her low estate. He liberally contributed according to his means towards the support of the indigent clergy as well as collected subscriptions in their behalf; he sought places for them as tutors and chaplains, and obtained help for their widows and orphans.

When the fatal interdict of January 1655* was enforced, disabling the episcopal clergy from doing any mi-

* More fully noticed in the *Life of Archbishop Usher*, Chap. iv.

nisterial act, Dr. Hammond published a tract, entitled *A Parænesis, or Seasonable Exhortatory to all true Sons of the Church of England*, which he wrote “first in tears and then in ink.” He was led by that “sad conjuncture of affairs, when those whose office it was to speak to the people from God, and to God from the people, were solemnly forbidden all public discharge of these and all other branches of their sacred function,” to endeavour to comfort and strengthen the souls of his brethren. “I shall now,” he says, “though the unworthiest of all my many brethren, assume this venerable office of being a remembrancer to the people of God, even to all those who have been brought forth unto Christ by our precious dear persecuted mother, the church of England, and remain still constant to that faith which from her breasts they have sucked, and are not yet scandalised in her.”

On the same occasion he humbled himself before God with fasting, for he thought that this dispensation which “cast him out as straw to the dung-hill,” was a reproach to him for his unprofitableness. Confessing that the provocations were great, he prayed that God would not leave nor forsake “this poor church;”—“But though Thou feed us with the bread of adversity and water of affliction, yet let not our teachers be removed into a corner, but let our eyes still see our teachers; let not Sion complain that she hath none to lead her by the hand among all the sons that she hath brought up, but provide her such supports in this her declining condition, that she may still have a seed and a remnant left!”

He then reflected by what means the ruinous tendency of this tyrannical edict might be frustrated; and as he saw that the ancient clergy were hastening to the grave, and that in the present state of things they must all in a few years waste away, he formed the plan of training up

young persons for the sacred ministry and maintaining them in the universities; and although he was not assisted as liberally as he had hoped at first, he contrived by the help of his friends to carry his pious wishes into effect to a considerable extent; and he besought those who favoured his design to aid him in selecting candidates for that holy vocation, and carefully to seek out such as were religiously disposed, preferring that qualification before unsanctified good parts, since he was sure that exemplary virtue must restore the church.

When the prospect of the restoration began to open, Dr. Hammond's health was in a declining state. Sedentary habits had brought on, or aggravated, diseases which made it necessary for him to curtail his hours of study, and threatened to shorten his life.

His bodily sufferings were sometimes very severe, but the power of religion made him patient and resigned, and thankful for any intervals of ease; nay he acknowledged it to be a christian's duty to entertain so deep a conviction of the goodness of God, as to behold in the present state the very best that could be wished or fancied. He anxiously enquired into the inward provocations which made such chastisements necessary, at the same time praying that God would remove whatever was displeasing in his sight, even by the sharpest discipline, if gentler means would not avail.

He followed our Saviour's maxim, feeling that sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof; and far from anticipating future sorrow, he accounted it great folly to distress himself by conjectures about events which might never come to pass, and which, if they did, God would order so as to promote his own glory, and the eternal welfare of his creatures. "Besides all this," he would say, "in the very dispensation, God will not fail to give such allays,

as (like the cool gales under the Line,) will make the greatest heats of sufferance very supportable;" and looking at his past experience, he could observe that "God had mercifully proportioned his strength to his trials."

In March 1659, he began to anticipate the revival of the prostrate church. He says in a letter, "It appears not improbable that the tabernacle of David, which hath been in the dust so long, may ere long be re-edified; but whether or not with those diminutions which may extort tears from them that compare the second with the former edifice, I am not able to divine."

In the following September, about half a year before the restoration, and just after the defeat of the royalists in Cheshire, he evinced in another letter his firm reliance on the goodness of God, even when the light of his countenance seemed to be withdrawn. "It is the supreme privilege of christianity," he writes, "to convert the saddest evils into the most medicinal advantages, the valley of Achor into the door of hope, the blackest tempest into the most perfect sunshine; and it is certain you have an excellent opportunity now before you, to improve and receive benefit by; and you will not despise that affection which attempts to tell you somewhat of it. It is plainly this; that all kind of prosperity (even that which we most think we can justify the most importunate pursuance of, the flourishing of a church and monarchy,) is treacherous and dangerous, and might very probably tend to our great ills; and nothing is so entirely safe and wholesome as to be continued under God's disciplines. Those that are not bettered by such methods would certainly be intoxicated and destroyed by the pleasanter draughts; and those that would ever serve God sincerely in affluence have infinitely greater advantages and opportunities for it in the adverse fortune. Therefore let us now all adore

and bless God's wisest choices, and set vigorously to the task that lies before us, improving the present advantages, and supplying in the abundance of the inward beauty what is wanting to the outward lustre of a church ; and we shall not fail to find that the grots and caves lie as open to the celestial influences as the fairest and most beautified temples. We are ordinarily very willing to be rich, and flatter ourselves that our aims are no other than to be enabled by much wealth to do as much good ; and some live to see themselves confuted, and want hearts when wealth comes in greatest abundance ; so those that never come to make the experiment have yet reason to judge that God saw it fit not to lead them into temptation, lest, if they had been proved, they should have been found faithless. And the same judgment are we now obliged to pass for ourselves, and, by what God appears to have chosen for us, to resolve what he sees to be absolutely best for us ; and it must be our greatest blame and wretchedness, if what hath now befallen us be not effectually better for us, than whatever else even piety could have suggested to us to wish or pray for."

Soon after the writing of this letter, when the hopes and prayers of many years seemed near their accomplishment in the restoration of the monarchy and the church, he "rejoiced with trembling;" for while he believed that the righteous cause was about to triumph, he feared that as religion had been made subservient to ambition, and assumed as a cloak by so many who had evil purposes to promote, the nation might be disgusted with real piety, and hurry into the opposite extreme of open profligacy and profaneness. It had been his prayer, that whenever God should see fit to turn the captivity of the nation, it might be in a state of repentance ; but now they were not in that condition, and he contemplated the course of

events with many painful forebodings. He remarked that "after seriously considering what sort of men would be better for the change, he could not think of any." As for the church, "persecution was generally the happiest means of propagating that; she then grew fastest when most pruned; was then of the best complexion and most healthy when fainting through loss of blood." He feared that the laity, in their several stations and estates, "had so much perverted the healthful dispensations of judgment, that it was most improbable they should make any tolerable use of mercy." And he even looked upon the king as an object of compassion, since in taking his rightful sceptre he would be brought into many difficulties and cares from which he was exempt before.

As for himself, Dr. Hammond was convinced that the retirement in which he had passed the latter years of his life was more to be desired than the honourable public station to which he was likely to be promoted. He had long enjoyed, as Dr. Fell expresses it, "a constant equable serenity, and unthoughtfulness in outward accidents."

"I must confess," he remarked one day to a friend with much feeling, "I never saw the time in all my life wherein I could so cheerfully say my *Nunc Dimittis*, [Lord now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace,] as now. Indeed I do dread prosperity, I do really dread it. For the little good I am now able to do, I can do it with deliberation and advice; but if it please God I should live, and be called to any higher office in the church, I must then do many things in a hurry, and shall not have time to consult with others, and I sufficiently apprehend the danger of relying on my own judgment."

It pleased Almighty God to answer Dr. Hammond's

earnest desires in a most remarkable manner, both by granting at that time the return of the king, and by removing his servant to a higher and purer sphere, before he could share any of the temporal advantages which might have accrued to him from that event.

In the early part of the year 1660, the fifty-fifth of his age, he was invited to London to consult with several other divines upon the measures to be pursued on the restoration of the church. He felt that he ought to attend to that summons, particularly as he knew that he had been fixed upon to have the charge of a diocese.

Important duties were now about to devolve upon him, and he prepared to discharge them faithfully. He entered upon a serious examination of his own heart, prayed earnestly to God for his assistance, and the disposal of him entirely to the divine glory; and solemnly enjoined one of his most intimate friends, "to study and examine the last ten years of his life, and with the justice due to a christian friendship to observe his failances of all kinds, and show them to him."

He also gave some thoughts to the diocese of Worcester, over which it was intended that he should preside, considering how he might best serve God, and advance the public good, if permitted to exercise that sacred function. Amongst other plans which he contemplated at this time was one for the repair of the cathedral church.

Dr. Hammond, thus prepared, waited for the summons which was to call him from Westwood to the important consultation in London. But a more imperative summons was first issued, and it was one which he received without regret. On the 4th of April, he experienced a severe attack of the painful disease with which he had for some years been afflicted. After a few days it returned

with greater violence, and he then believed that his life was near its end. Speaking to his friends of his approaching death, he told them that "he should leave them in God's hands, who could supply abundantly all the assistance they could either expect or desire from him, and who would so provide that they should not find his removal any loss."

When one of them prayed with much earnestness that he might be spared for the present and restored to health, he said — "I observe that your zeal spends itself all in that one petition for my recovery; in the interim you have no care of me in my greatest interest, which is, that I may be perfectly fitted for my change when God shall call me: I pray let some of your fervour be employed that way."

Some of them pressed him "to make his own request to God to be continued longer in the world for the sake of the church. He immediately began a solemn prayer, which contained, first, a very humble and melting acknowledgment of sin, and a most earnest intercession for mercy and forgiveness through the merits of his Saviour: next, resigning himself entirely into his Maker's hands, he begged that if the Divine Wisdom intended him for death, he might have a due preparation for it; but if his life might be in any degree useful to the church, even to one single soul, he then besought Almighty God to continue him, and by his grace enable him to employ that life he so vouchsafed, industriously and successfully, After this, he did intercede for this church and nation, and with particular vigour and enforcement prayed for the sincere performance of christian duty now so much decayed, to the equal supplanting and scandal of that holy calling; that those who professed that faith might live according to the rules of it, and to the form of godliness

superadd the power. This, with some repetitions and more tears, he pursued, and at last closed all in a prayer for the several concerns of the family where he was." He also gratefully acknowledged the goodness of God in bringing on this malady before he had left Westwood, and so sparing him the distress of being taken ill upon his journey; and he always blessed God whenever the pains of his disorder abated.

Dr. Hammond did not forget that the admonitions of a dying person commonly arrest the mind in a remarkable manner. He therefore called together the younger members of the family, the lambs of that little flock whom he had guided and watched with such tender care, and warned them of the dangers which beset a christian's path, besought them to remember their baptismal vows and their early training, and gave them good advice concerning the selection of their friends and their conduct towards each other. In the same affectionate manner he communicated his opinions and advice to lady Pakington at her own particular request.

His gratitude for every little kindness shown to him was now conspicuous, and his sweetness of temper and charity shone brightly to the last. When the chaplain, kneeling in the sick chamber, prayed to God according to the *Office for the Visitation of the Sick*, he desired that a neighbouring lady who was ill might be included in their petitions; and when, in consequence of Dr. Hammond's increasing danger, the chaplain afterwards mentioned him only, he feelingly observed — "O no, let me not be the cause of excluding her!"

On the 20th of April, being Good Friday, he received the most comfortable sacrament of the body and blood of Christ; and did the same on Easter day. When those words of St. Paul were read — "This is a true saying

and worthy of all men to be received, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners," he ejaculated in accents of deep humility and sincerity — "Of whom I am the chief."

The same lowliness of mind was evinced on other occasions. Receiving a letter, in which, amongst many expressions of esteem, there was added an intimation — "That there was now hope the days were come when his deserts should be considered, and himself employed in the government as well as the instruction of the church," he was greatly discomposed, and spoke with "a grief and anguish beyond what his sickness, in any period, however sharp, had extorted from him."

When the bystanders were alarmed at a violent bleeding of his nose, he bade them to "lay aside impatience on his behalf, and to wait God's leisure, whose seasons were still the best." When the great loss of blood occasioned a drowsiness which prevented him from giving full attention to the devotions offered up by his friends, he said mournfully — "Alas! is this all the return that I make for these mercies, to sleep at prayers!" And as he was never heard to complain under the most acute suffering, so when temporary ease was afforded him he would exclaim — "Blessed be God! — Blessed be God!"

During this illness, news of the defeat of general Lambert arrived at Westwood. This event sealed the success of that cause to which Dr. Hammond had been sincerely attached through life. But now, when it was related to him, it only called forth his charity, as he said with tears in his eyes — "Poor souls! I beseech God to forgive them."

The 25th of April ended all his sorrows, and removed him to happier scenes. On that day the bleeding returned, and left him completely exhausted, but happily

in full possession of his faculties. He continued in fervent prayer till the evening, when he breathed his last, having whispered a few moments before his departure — “Lord, make haste !”

The preceding narrative has shown that Dr. Hammond was eminently adorned with christian virtues of a very high order, and that his character exhibited fewer defects than are common to man. His death was, as bishop Burnet remarks, “an unspeakable loss to the church ; for as he was a man of great learning, and of most eminent merit, he having been the person that, during the bad times, had maintained the cause of the church in a very singular manner, so he was a very moderate man in his temper, though with a high principle ; and probably he would have fallen into healing counsels.”

At the very close of life he left on record his desire, “that no unseasonable stiffness of those that were in the right, no perverse obstinacy of those that were in the wrong, might hinder the closing of the wounds of the church ; but that all private and secular designs might be laid aside, all lawful concessions made, and the one great and common concernment of truth and peace unanimously and vigorously pursued.”

With a disposition calculated to conciliate affection and command respect, an ambition having no other aim but to do good, an unbounded generosity, an active mind and sound judgment, a real anxiety for the well-being of religion and the salvation of souls, and a life and conversation upon which a pure light was shed by his constant communion with God, he would probably have been of great service in repairing the ruins of the church, whether in consultation about the measures which would best promote the interests of religion, or in the superintendence of a diocese.

His views of church-government and of the duties of the clergy, were of a character which caused many to regret that he was not longer spared. He had hoped that "a moderate episcopacy, with a standing assistant presbytery," having certain duties expressly assigned to them, would "satisfy the desires of those whose prétensions were regular and moderate," and would be such a constitution of the church as all the contending parties would prefer next to their own.

"He was also," as Burnet says, "much set on reforming abuses, and on raising in the clergy a due sense of the obligations they lay under." He thought that a strict search ought to be made into the morals, tempers, and capacities of those who were to be admitted into holy orders, and licensed as public preachers; and that "painful, mature, and sober preaching and catechizing, and studies of all kinds, ought to be so far considered in the collating of church preferments and dignities, and that so much of duty should be required of clergymen, and so little left arbitrary and at large, that every church preferment in this kingdom might have such a due burthen annexed to it, that no ignorant person should be able, no lazy or luxurious person willing or forward to undergo it."

Well therefore might the church weep over her departed son, but for himself the change was happily timed, as it released him from bodily sufferings which would have continued to afflict him to the end of his days,—rescued him from the temptations of prosperity which he feared,—saved him the pain of witnessing the increase of vice and irreligion, which he sorrowfully anticipated,—and bore him to those pure and peaceful habitations for which he had been constantly preparing.

The day of his death was that on which parliament

was assembled for the purpose of recalling the king. On the following evening he was buried without pomp, for so he requested, in the neighbouring parish church of Hampton, the service of the church of England being used on that occasion. Multitudes of persons, of various classes, assembled to testify their grateful and respectful remembrance of the piety and virtues of the deceased; and the clergymen who were present showed their affection by bearing his body to the church, where it was deposited in the vault of that generous family whose friendship he had experienced during so many years of his life.



BISHOP WILKINS.

THE LIFE
OF
BISHOP WILSON,
1663—1755.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION—HIS EARLY LIFE.

AMONGST the most delightful associations connected with the world of spirits, is that idea which originates in our belief in the communion of saints, and which represents to us the children of God, who have lived upon earth at various periods of time, as forming one fold under the one great shepherd.

The Scriptures countenance and warrant this interesting notion, for in them we find our blessed Saviour himself holding out to his followers the prospect of being in Abraham's bosom, and of sitting down in the company of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; and encouraging his disciples, both by the tenor of his prayers and his promises, to expect that after death they should be assembled together, and thus, once more united, should be with Him, and behold his glory and partake of his joy for ever.

Of those who, in humbly pursuing the paths of faith and holiness, are looking forward to be introduced to this company of the redeemed,—there are few who have not fixed upon a chosen circle of just men made perfect, from whose society they expect more particular pleasure. The

idea is so natural, so intimately blended with all our better feelings, and really forms so beautiful and strong a tie to the invisible world, that it is one which it cannot be wrong to entertain.

This chosen circle, doubtless, consists in the first place of those, whom having seen, we have known and loved. Kindred and friends who have died in the Lord attach us to the citizens of heaven, and cause us to remember Zion with a more vivid interest.

'Tis sweet, as year by year we lose
Friends out of sight, by faith to muse
How grows in Paradise our store.—*Christian Year.*

But it includes others also, belonging to distant countries or times, whose hands we have never clasped, whose voices we have never heard, whose bodily presence we have never seen, but with whose minds and characters we have become intimately acquainted and strongly attached. The simple-minded christians of primitive times—the confessors who, being faithful unto death, went to receive a crown of life—the staunch defenders of the faith, especially when their conscientious firmness and boldness in their Lord's behalf was associated with gentleness of spirit—these claim and possess the affection of the sincere christian; they are even admired and revered by those who have no very deeply-rooted sentiments of religion. But still that company comprises others, perhaps even more beloved than these, whose lives may not have been distinguished by any very remarkable incidents, yet to whom we are linked in the closest union. They are those to whom we owe the thoughts and impressions from which we derive the greatest satisfaction;—those who, in bequeathing to us wholesome counsel, have inscribed in their holy pages the picture of their own minds; and concerning whom we are thus able to

gather incidentally that they must have been wise and amiable companions, who did good in their generation by an exemplary life and conversation. We think that it must have been a great privilege to have taken sweet counsel with them during their sojourn on earth, and we contemplate with peculiar pleasure the prospect of commencing an uninterrupted intercourse with them, in the better world whither they are gone.

Such feelings are particularly connected with the name of him who is best known as the "good Bishop Wilson." We are wont to fancy that a purer, gentler spirit has seldom inhabited an earthly tabernacle; and multitudes of persons who may never have read or heard one incident of his life, love and venerate the name of one whose *Private Thoughts*, and *Preparation for the Lord's Supper*, and whose little volumes of simple *Sermons*, have been their familiar closet companions, and who has thus bound them to himself by helping them forward in the way of righteousness, through the influence of the same feelings and convictions which confirmed his own faith, and animated his own piety.

Thomas Wilson was born in the village of Burton, in the county palatine of Chester, on the 20th of December, 1663. We are not informed what occupation his parents followed, but they apparently moved in humble life, since in one of his papers he speaks of his education raising him above his father's house; and says, that though honesty and industry secured the family from poverty, yet it was far from being rich. In the subject of this memoir, therefore, we have one of those instances which are happily of such frequent occurrence in this country, of the elevation of a person who had none of the advantages of wealth or high connexion, to an honourable and important situation. But if his parents were not great,

they were good ; and he confessed that he owed much to them. In his diary he mentions them with gratitude as “ honest parents, fearing God ;” and in a prayer which he composed and used in their behalf, and which throughout betokens a conviction that they merited the warmest filial affection, he makes an express acknowledgment, on the part of his brothers and sisters as well as himself, that they could never be sufficiently thankful, either to God or their parents, for the care taken of them by the latter, and for all their godly instructions.

It is difficult to estimate how large a portion of the evil and the good which exist in the world flows from the early management of children ; but, as we know that the most important consequences are dependent upon it, we cannot but feel regret that there are no means of introducing us to the domestic circle in the little parlour at Burton, where we might have observed the planting, the watering, and the growth of the good seed, in the heart of him who was there led *from a child to know the Holy Scriptures, which made him wise unto salvation, through faith which is in Christ Jesus.*

His classical education was entrusted to Mr. Harpur, an eminent school-master at Chester ; and at a proper age he was sent to the university of Dublin, with an allowance of twenty pounds a year ; a sum which, however small it may be thought, was in those days sufficient, we are told, “ for a sober student, in so cheap a country as Ireland.”

The medical profession was that towards which his thoughts and studies were at first directed. But occurrences, apparently trifling, are often appointed by Divine Providence to alter the current of our plans. While at college, young Wilson became acquainted with the Rev. Michael Hewetson, one of the prebendaries of St. Pa-

trick's cathedral, and archdeacon of Kildare; the acquaintance ripened into intimacy, and the archdeacon, judging that his friend possessed a disposition and talents which might be employed advantageously in the work of the ministry, persuaded him to turn his thoughts towards the sacred office of a minister of Christ.

"During his residence in Dublin, he conducted himself," says his first biographer, "with the utmost regularity and decorum; and by his diligent application made a great proficiency in academical learning. He continued at college till the year 1686, when on St. Peter's day, the 29th of June, he was, at the immediate instance and desire of his friend Mr. Hewetson, ordained a deacon by Dr. Moreton, bishop of Kildare," in the cathedral church of that diocese, which was consecrated on the same day. On that occasion, he and the archdeacon jointly presented a small silver *paten* for the service of the communion table, on the inside of which was engraved this inscription:

DEO ET ALTARI ECCLESIAE CATHEDRALIS
S'TÆ BRIDGIDÆ DARENSIS SACRUM; with
I H S in the middle;—and on the reverse, *Ex unitis
Devotionibus maxime Amicorum Mich. Hewetson et Tho.
Wilson: Ille Presbyter, et Prebendarius Ecclesiae Cathedra-
lis S'ti Patricij, Dubl: Hic ad sacrum Diaconatus
Ordinem solemniter admissus die Consecrationis hujus
Ecclesiae, viz. Festo S'ti Petri 1686.**

* The following is a translation of these words:—Dedicated to God, and for the use of the altar of the cathedral church of St. Bridget of Kildare, by the united devotion of two dear friends, Michael Hewetson and Thomas Wilson: The former a Presbyter, and Prebendary of the Cathedral Church of St. Patrick, in Dublin; the latter, solemnly admitted to the holy order of Deacons on the day of the consecration of this Church, namely on St. Peter's day, 1686.

A heart so devout as Wilson's could not fail to be strongly impressed by the solemn engagements into which he had that day entered ; and a beautiful prayer, preserved in a memorandum-book, records his feelings and desires on that occasion. He beseeches God, who gave him a will, to give him also power and strength to serve Him in the sacred ministry, to which he was on that day dedicated ; and the following passage conveys in a few words his views of that holy calling :—" Give me, O Lord, I humbly beg, a wise, a sober, a patient, an understanding, a devout, a religious, a courageous heart ; that I may instruct the ignorant, reclaim the vicious, bear with the infirmities of the weak, comfort the afflicted, confirm the strong ; that I may be an example of true piety, and sincere religion ; that I may constantly speak the truth, boldly rebuke vice, and cheerfully suffer for righteousness' sake. Let my great Lord and Master, let his example, be always before my eyes. Let my days be spent in doing good, in visiting the sick, in helping their infirmities, in composing differences, in preaching the glad tidings of salvation, and in all the works of mercy and charity by which I shall be judged at the last day Give us all grace, that we may often and seriously lay to heart the nature and importance of our calling ; that these thoughts may make us diligent and zealous, and that our zeal may be ever concerned in matters of real moment."

Nor did he permit the solemn engagements of that day to fade from his memory, for he ever after set apart the anniversary for reflection and devotion, and for the more express consideration of his ministerial obligations, and the manner in which he had discharged them.

His further stay in Ireland was short ; for in December of the same year he was licensed to be curate of Newchurch, a chapelry in the parish of Winwick, in Lanca-

shire, of which Dr. Sherlock, his maternal uncle, was then rector. Here he early exercised the charity which Goldsmith so much commends in the village preacher of sweet Auburn, though his income fell short of that possessed by the latter, being only thirty pounds a-year. Yet was he also "passing rich," for he contrived, then and ever after, to set apart a stated portion of his income for charitable purposes.

In the society of Dr. Sherlock he possessed very great advantages, and had opportunities of studying a character, which he seems in many respects to have imitated, and of which he expressed his admiration and love in a memoir, which commences in the following terms:—"When I have said that he was born of very honest and religious parents, the pious reader will not be offended that he finds nothing more considerable in the account of his family." He then proceeds to state, that after various sufferings and reverses during the troublesome times of the great rebellion, Dr. Sherlock found a refuge in the family of sir Robert Bindlosse, of Borrick, in Lancashire, to whom he became domestic chaplain. It is remarkable, that at this time, and in this neighbourhood, George Fox, the quaker, was then making a stir; and hearing of his reputation for learning and piety, desired to bring him round to his views. Accordingly, he commenced a correspondence, which ended in Sherlock's publishing several small tracts upon the subjects in controversy between them, which, his biographer says, "by the blessing of God, had their effect."

Sir R. Bindlosse afterwards recommended Dr. Sherlock to the notice of Charles, eighth earl of Derby, who reposed so much confidence in him, that at the restoration he gave him a commission to settle the affairs of the church in the Isle of Man, "which during the great rebel-

lion had suffered in its doctrine, discipline, and worship." "This difficult work he went through (while his fellow-commissioners settled the civil affairs) to the entire satisfaction of the lord and people of that island, which, by the blessing of God, continues as uniform in her worship, as orthodox in her doctrine, and as strict and regular in her discipline, as any christian church in the world." Upon his return from that "happy island," he was appointed to the valuable living of Winwick.

His mode of living was frugal and simple; he was hospitable, and so "exceeding charitable," that at his death he left "not above one year's profits" of his living, and "even these in a great measure to pious uses." He always entertained in his house at least three curates, for the service of his church and chapels. So that on account of the doctor's primitive example, as also the choice that he made of persons to serve at the altar, Winwick became a very desirable place for young divines to improve themselves in the work of the ministry. Dr. Sherlock died in peace, at the age of 76, June 20th, 1689.

Mr. Wilson, after having remained in deacon's orders rather more than three years, was ordained a priest by the bishop of Chester, October 20th, 1689; and on this occasion he entered in his memorandum-book a series of resolutions, by which he thought fit to bind himself, "in the beginning of his days," not to obtain church-preferment by promise or reward; never to give a bond of resignation; not to hold two livings with cure of souls; and to reside and do the duties himself, whenever it should please God to bless him "with a parish and a cure of souls."

The following is a copy of these resolutions: —

"1st. I resolve never to give any person any manner of bribe or gift, nor make any manner of contract or promise, for a church preferment, though never so good, and the consideration how inconsiderable soever it be.

"2dly. That I will never give a bond of resignation upon any consideration whatever ; being fully persuaded, that when God sees me fit for such an employment, he can bring me into it without subjecting me to these conditions (which I verily believe are unlawful), and if I can never have any ecclesiastical preferment but upon these terms, I am satisfied it is God's will I should have none.

"3dly. Considering the scandal and injury of pluralities to the church, I resolve never to accept of two church livings with cure of souls (if such should ever be in my choice), though never so conveniently seated.

"4thly. I resolve, that whenever it shall please God to bless me with a parish and a cure of souls, I will reside upon it myself, and not trust that to a curate which ought to be my own particular care.

"That I may not ensnare myself by residence, I mean such as the bishop of the diocese shall determine not only to be consistent with the laws of the land, but such as an honest conscientious man may venture his salvation upon ; because, for aught I know, some such cases there may be."

Full five years passed away in the discharge of the quiet yet interesting duties of a country pastor, at Newchurch. With all its responsibilities, anxieties, and disappointments, there is no employment more fruitful in peace and joy, "if a man be found faithful." That Mr. Wilson was so, his previous character, and the even tenor of a good life going onward to perfection, which we shall see in his whole deportment, may be deemed satis-

factory evidence. And it is all the evidence that we possess. Delightful as it would have been, to have watched him acting in the spirit of his deacon's prayer,—zealously cultivating pure religion and sound knowledge in his own heart; and then carrying a spark from that holy altar, to light up a kindred flame in the hearts of his people; teaching the poor of this world to be rich in faith; preaching peace by Jesus Christ; turning sinners from the error of their ways; administering comfort in the chamber of woe;—he has left no record of these good works, nor have his biographers been able to furnish any memorial of them.

In the year 1692 he was introduced to a new scene of exertion, by being appointed domestic chaplain to William earl of Derby, and preceptor to his son, James lord Strange, with a salary of thirty pounds a-year. The earl was the patron of Dr. Sherlock's living of Winwick, and there can be little doubt that through this circumstance, he became acquainted with the character and capacity of Mr. Wilson.

In Latham park, then the seat of the earl of Derby, there is an almshouse, consisting of several tenements, with a chapel annexed; and shortly after the commencement of his residence in the earl's family, he was appointed to the mastership of that charitable institution, which produced to him twenty pounds a-year.

The memorandum in which he declares his intention of increasing the proportion of his income devoted to pious uses, in consequence of this addition to his means, will not be read without interest.

“*Memorandum.*—Easter-day, 1693. It having pleased God, of his mere bounty and goodness, to bless me with a temporal income far above my hopes or deserts, and I having hitherto given but one tenth part of my income to

the poor, I do therefore purpose, and I thank God for putting it into my heart, that of all the profits which it shall please God to give me, and which shall become due to me after the 6th of August next (after which time I hope to have paid my small debts), I do purpose to separate the fifth part of all my incomes, as I shall receive them, for pious uses, and particularly for the poor.—T. W.”

“*August, 1693.*—The God that gave me a will to make this solemn purpose, has given me grace not to repent of it, and he will give me grace to my life’s end. Amen.”

During his residence in lord Derby’s family, which continued for about six years, a few incidents occurred which demonstrate his soundness of principle and simple-mindedness, and clearly show what spirit he was of.

When lord Derby offered him the valuable living of Baddesworth in Yorkshire, making it a condition that he should continue with him as chaplain and tutor to his son, he refused to accept it, as being inconsistent with “the resolves of his conscience against non-residence.” He also refused to hold the living of Grappenhall in Cheshire, during the minority of Mr. Boardman, then an infant, as being contrary to another of his resolves.

In 1693, a dangerous illness, from which he recovered by the mercy of God, drew from him the following reflections:—“1st. That very day se’nnight before, I was guilty of a very great fault, which I am sure was very offensive to God, and which I had not repented of; and perhaps had not done it, to this day, but had gone on in my wickedness, if God had not by this or some other fatherly correction diverted me.

“2dly. I began my journey (contrary to a former resolution) on a Sunday, which, without great necessity, I

think I ought not to have done ; that day being particularly appointed for God's service.

"3dly. I cannot but reflect how very dangerous a thing it is to leave the settling of a man's temporal and spiritual affairs till he is seized with sickness ; since I find, by a just experience, how very unfit one then is for any manner of business.

"4thly. That my recovery and second life was manifestly owing to God, is what I cannot but acknowledge ; that therefore, as I ought never to forget the mercy, so ought I to spend the remainder of this life to the honour, and in the service, of the author of it ; which, by the grace of God, I will do.

"5thly. I am now most sensible, that sickness is an excellent means of bringing us nearer to God. As then I am, by what God has wrought in me, extremely satisfied that it was the great blessing of my life, I ought (as my Master's service obliges me to it) to take all occasions of making God's fatherly correction useful to those who are chastised by this or any other affliction.

" And may the good and merciful God, who has put these good reflections into my heart, may He give me grace never to forget them, nor the blessing I this day received. May I, dear God, never provoke Thee to plague me with diseases, nor bring thy punishments upon me, which Thou never dost, unless we force Thee by our repeated transgressions. This, I confess with all sense of sorrow was my case ; and Thou, O God, hadst been less kind to me, hadst Thou been less severe. I acknowledge Thy justice, and I acknowledge Thy favour. Couldst Thou have been just and not merciful, I had been utterly destroyed ; hadst Thou been merciful and not just, I might have gone on in my wickedness, till I had brought down destruction upon my own head. It is

good for me that I have been in trouble, for I have since learned to keep thy commandments ; but it had not been good for me, had I not fallen into the hands of a merciful God. Since, therefore, Thou didst in great mercy restore me to my former health ; since Thou hast given me a new life, give me grace likewise, without which my life will be no blessing to me ; give me grace, I humbly beg, to serve Thee with this life which is thine. Thou needest not, O God, my service, but accept of my ambition of serving Thee, I would do something that might be acceptable to my great benefactor. Thou desirest no sacrifice, else I would give it Thee ; *I offer my life to be employed in thine immediate service, to which I have dedicated it.* I will preach thy way unto the wicked ; and by my ministry, if Thou seest good, sinners shall be converted unto Thee. They shall taste and see how gracious the Lord is to those whom he chastises in his love.

“ Blessed are all they that put their trust in him ; and blessed be the name of the Lord, who has indulged me this opportunity of returning my hearty thanks for this mercy in particular, which I do this day commemorate. To whom, with the Son and the Holy Ghost, be ascribed all praise, honour, and glory, by me, and all that are sharers of these mighty blessings. Amen.”

These reflections and resolutions to walk more watchfully for the future, betoken a full understanding of the purposes and advantages of the afflictions which God sends upon the children of men, and a desire neither to despise the chastenings of the Lord, nor to faint when rebuked of Him.

His conduct on one occasion towards lord Derby, in a case of considerable delicacy, and one in which he risked his present comfortable situation and all his expectations, shows him to have been actuated by no other feeling

than that it was his duty to do good, when it seemed to be in the power of his hand to do it. His noble patron was very much involved in debt, through extravagance and carelessness; and Mr. Wilson, trusting that God, who had favoured him up to that period of his life, would still "give a blessing upon his honest endeavours," and sure that even if he were thrown upon the world, he should "have the glory and satisfaction of having done a great good work," resolved to communicate his thoughts to lord Derby. This led to the following reflections, on the evening before he ventured to take that step:—"It has pleased God to call me out of a family (which, through its honesty and industry, by God's blessing, has secured it from poverty, yet is far from being rich) to a post which my own merits and prudence could never have brought me to. The several steps I have made to this place have been very extraordinary, and such as plainly appear to have been by the direction and goodness of God; from which I cannot but conclude, that since God has thus raised me, it must certainly be for some wise and good end; and that I might be obliged, by all the force of interest and gratitude, to do my duty in this state of life to which I am called. It is true, it may at first sight appear very hazardous, to use that liberty and freedom which may seem necessary to advise and reclaim that great man whom I serve. But then I am to consider, that were I really to lose all my expectations, as well as what I have gotten, I am but where I was when God at first shewed me his favour. Nay, my education will still set me above my father's house.

"But this is not what I ought to fear: for cannot God, who raised me without myself, cannot He raise me, or keep me up, though my ruin should be designed and attempted? And perhaps it may never come to this:

for who knows, but God may give a blessing to my honest endeavours ? And then I am sure it will be the greatest advantage, as well as honour of my whole life, and an ease to my soul all my days ; and if he only falls out with me, and discharges me his family, I have the glory and satisfaction of having done a great good work.

“ Now, if I neglect this, which I take to be my duty, or, for fear of danger or any temporal consideration, put it off in hopes of a better occasion ; I may justly expect that God, who raised me (it may be for this very purpose), when I am found so backward in his service, will level me with the meanest of my father’s house. My fortune is in his hand entirely ; and He that could find a way to raise me without myself, can find out a way to ruin me in spite of my best endeavours.

“ And since in my conscience I know that I have not the least pretence to what I enjoy, but all is owing to his providence and goodness, I am his debtor for it ; and I have no other way of making a return, but by doing my duty honestly, and leaving the event to God.

“ And may that Eternal Goodness inspire me with a resolution answerable to this good and great design ! May no weak and cowardly apprehensions fright me from my duty ! May I fear Him only who has power over my soul, as well as body, to destroy them both if I am disobedient to the heavenly command.

“ Inspire me, O Gbd, with a zeal and courage becoming my profession, that I may rebuke vice boldly, and discountenance wickedness wherever I find it, and be jealous for thy glory in the presence of the greatest men on earth. Above all, O Lord Almighty, make me to do some good in this station in which, by thy providence, is my present lot ; that when Thou shalt please to remove me, (whether for the better or worse, thy will be done !)

I may not repent of having done nothing which thou requirest of me. Grant this, Oh my great and bountiful Lord and Master, for the sake of Jesus Christ. Amen."

Thus prepared by meditation and prayer, he sought an interview with lord Derby, and after a little conversation, took his leave, having first placed in the earl's hand a letter, in which he declared that none but the highest motives could have induced him to speak on so delicate a subject. The letter began thus:—

"MY LORD,—Nothing but a sense of duty and gratitude could have put me upon taking such a liberty as this, but because I have reason to believe it concerns your lordship, I can willingly hazard all the future favours your lordship designs me, rather than be unconcerned and silent in a matter of this moment, though I have no reason to fear such a consequence." After this he assured his lordship that dishonour was done to the noble family, and ruin brought upon many worthy persons, by the irregularity of the payments; and concludes by saying, that none but a faithful servant would expose himself to the consequences of speaking with such boldness, and therefore that in this character, as well as that of a dutiful chaplain, he still presumed to subscribe himself. This letter bears the date of October 22, 1696.

The result was equally honourable and satisfactory to both parties. The earl saw at once that nothing but the best motives could have induced his chaplain to take this step, and was equally convinced that there was much need for reformation; and to effect this desirable object, he applied immediately for the advice and assistance of Mr. Wilson, and thus in a short time removed the cloud which obscured his reputation, and relieved the distresses of those whom his extravagance was ruining.

A few remarks which Mr. Wilson made in his Life of

Dr. Sherlock, show that he was fully alive to the responsibilities and difficulties belonging to the situation which he now held. "The office of a chaplain," he says, "is an employment that requires as much christian courage, conduct, and piety, to discharge it faithfully, (where there are so many temptations, and so much need of virtue to overcome them,) as any state of life whatever; and, therefore, it often happens that such as seek or accept that charge in hopes of preferment, do find a necessity of quitting either those hopes or a good conscience."

And it is probable that his own conduct on this occasion was influenced by his recollection of the example of his uncle, who was once placed in a similar situation, as is related in the following manner:—

Dr. Sherlock's patron, Sir Robert Bindlosse, "had a just esteem for the church and her ministers, both at that time under a cloud: and being every way what they called an accomplished gentleman, it was no wonder that very many were fond of the honour of conversing with him: which had this unhappy effect, that it made him in love with company, and many of the evils that attended it; and too many of the family followed his example. To make some amends, as they thought, for these liberties, they expressed an uncommon concern for the interests of the suffering church; not considering that if we shall be shut out of heaven for our sins, it will be no great comfort to us what church we were members of on earth.

"The chaplain saw this with grief, and therefore, after general discourses and intimations that had little or no effect, he applied to his patron more closely, and in a letter he wrote to him laid down his and the vices of the family, in terms so home and serious, and yet so manly, that one could not imagine a mind so void of goodness as

to be offended with his holy freedom. He desired him to consider what injury he did to the distressed church for which he always expressed so commendable a zeal. He intimated to him that this was both the cause of her sufferings, and that which made her the scorn of her enemies: that her friends did her more dishonour than her enemies could do her hurt, so that she may truly say, in the words of Zechariah, xiii. 6. *'These are the wounds I received in the house of my friends!'* He assured him, that for his own part, he durst not seem to countenance such criminal liberties, lest the enemy should say that the ordinances of the Gospel were profaned with the consent of her ministers. And then, forgetting, or rather despising his own interest, the uncertainty of the times, and all the expectations he might have from a person of so good an interest in the world, he earnestly pressed either to be hearkened to in this matter, or to be immediately discharged from his office.

"His patron was so far from being offended with this first liberty of his faithful chaplain, that he heard him with submission. knowing well whose ambassador he was; and ever after honoured him as his friend."

The prayer which Mr. Wilson constantly offered up in private for the family, has been preserved in the memorandum-book, from which other extracts have been already made.

But little is known of the character and disposition of lord Strange, or of his progress while under the care of Mr. Wilson. His tutor's desire was, "to instruct him in all the ways of religion, piety, and honour," that he might be "useful to the world, and that his station and power might be beneficial to mankind." One little anecdote only has been preserved in which their names are connected. One day, as lord Strange was going to set his

name to a paper which he had not read, Mr. Wilson dropped some burning sealing-wax on his finger: the sudden pain made him very angry; but his tutor soon pacified him by observing, that he did it in order to impress a lasting remembrance on his mind never to sign or seal any paper which he had not first attentively examined. Lord Strange died at Venice in 1699, the year after the removal of Mr. Wilson to another sphere of action.

The line of conduct pursued by Mr. Wilson in discharging the duties of a tutor and a chaplain, harmonized with the course recommended by Herbert, in the second chapter of his *Country Parson*. "Let not chaplains think themselves so free as many of them do, and because they have different names think their office different. Doubtless they are parsons of the families they live in, and are entertained to that end, either by an open or implied covenant. Before they are in orders, they may be received for companions or discoursers; but after a man is once minister, he cannot agree to come into any house where he shall not exercise what he is, unless he forsake his plough and look back. Wherefore they are not to be over-submissive and base, but to keep up with the lord and lady of the house, and to preserve a boldness with them and all, even so far as reproof to their very face, when occasion calls, but seasonably and discreetly. They who do not thus, while they remember their earthly lord, do much forget their heavenly: they wrong the priesthood, neglect their duty, and shall be so far from that which they seek with their over-submissiveness and cringing, that they shall ever be despised. They who, for the hope of promotion, neglect any necessary admonition or reproof, sell, with Judas, their Lord and Master."

The year 1697 was the last in which he was to reside

with the family of the earl of Derby, for early in the following year he was appointed to the bishopric of Sodor and Man.

The circumstances attending this appointment were singular and characteristic. The nomination to the see was vested in his patron, the earl of Derby, subject to the approbation of the king; and it had been suffered to continue vacant from the death of Dr. Baptiste Levinz in 1693. After a lapse of four years, the earl offered the bishopric to his chaplain, who declined it, alleging that he was unequal to so great a charge, as well as unworthy of it. Thus the matter rested till Dr. Sharp, archbishop of York, complained to king William that a bishop was wanting in his province, to fill the see of Man. The king was thus induced to send for the earl of Derby, who was then master of the horse, and urged the necessity of immediately nominating a bishop; upon which the earl again pressed the preferment on Mr. Wilson, who (to use his own expression) was thus "forced into the bishopric." On the 15th of January 1697-8, he, being first created doctor of laws by the archbishop of Canterbury, was confirmed bishop of Man, at Bow church, by Dr. Oxenden, dean of the Arches: and the next day he was consecrated at the Savoy church by archbishop Sharp, assisted by the bishops of Chester and Norwich.

We have now arrived at a period in this good man's life when he begins to be better known. And as his name is in no way connected with the politics of the day, or with public events, we may be permitted, instead of following the order of dates, to bring together in each of the succeeding chapters such little notices as show his temper and spirit in some distinct point of view; and we hope that they will combine to present an eminent and engaging example of one who, in the direction of his life,

endeavoured by prayer, watchfulness, and diligence, to keep a conscience void of offence towards God and towards man. His discharge of the duties of the episcopal office may naturally claim our first attention.

CHAPTER II.

HIS CONDUCT AS A BISHOP.

A bishop is a pastor set over other pastors. They were to ordain elders. They might receive an accusation against an elder. They were to charge them to preach such and such doctrines ; to stop the mouths of deceivers ; to set in order the things that were wanting. — BISHOP WILSON'S *Sacra Privata*.

SUCH was bishop Wilson's opinion of the nature of that high office in the church of Christ with which he was now invested ; and, as far as we can judge from the memorials of his life which have been preserved, he endeavoured, by the grace of God, to discharge its duties faithfully to the end of his days. And happy indeed was that island in being the object of his paternal care. At the age of thirty-four he was enthroned in the cathedral of St. Germain, on the 11th of April, 1698, six days after his landing in the island.

His devotional exercises on this occasion indicate a heart fully sensible of the goodness of God manifested in his elevation, and a desire that it might not be bestowed upon him in vain. He confesses his unworthiness of the great favours he received ; beseeches guidance and a blessing upon himself and his charge ; seeks protection from the temptations which may be peculiar to his new

condition ; and particularly asks, that if affliction be required for his correction, it may not be withheld.

The following was his prayer on that solemn occasion : — “ In an humble and thankful sense of thy great goodness to a very sinful and very unworthy creature, I look up to Thee, O gracious Lord and benefactor, who from a low obscurity hast called me to this high office, for grace and strength to fit me for it. What am I, or what is my father’s house, that Thou shouldst vouchsafe us such instances of thy notice and favour? *I am not worthy of the least of all the mercies which Thou hast shewed unto thy servant.*

“ O God, grant that, by a conscientious discharge of my duty, I may profit those over whom I am appointed thy minister, that I may make such a return as shall be acceptable to Thee.

“ Give me such a measure of thy spirit as shall be sufficient to support me under, and lead me through, all the difficulties I shall meet with.

“ Command a blessing upon my studies, that I may make full proof of my ministry, and be instrumental in converting many to the truth.

“ Give me skill and conduct, that with a pious, prudent, and charitable hand, I may lead and govern the people committed to my care ; that I may be watchful in ruling them, earnest in correcting them, fervent in loving them, and patient in bearing with them.

“ Let thy grace and blessing, O father of mankind, rest upon all those whom I bless in thy name ; and especially upon those who, together with me, are appointed to watch over thy flock.

“ Bless every member of this church ; support the weak, confirm and settle those that stand, and feed our flock, together with ourselves, through Jesus Christ the chief

shepherd. Lord, who is sufficient for 'so great a work? Thou, O Lord, canst enable the meanest of thy creatures to bring to pass what Thou hast determined: be pleased to make me an instrument of great good to this church and people; and grant, that when I have preached to and governed others, I myself may not be lost or go astray.

“Preserve me from the dangers of a prosperous condition, from pride, and forgetfulness of Thee, from a proud conceit of myself, and from disdaining others. Rather turn me out of all earthly possessions, than they should hinder me in my way to heaven.

“If affliction be needful for me, let me not want it: only give me grace thankfully to receive and bear thy fatherly correction, that after this life is ended in thine immediate service, I may have a place of rest amongst thy faithful servants in the paradise of God, in sure hopes of a blessed resurrection, through Jesus Christ. Amen.”

A few months after, on the occasion of his laying the foundation-stone of a new chapel, to be built at his own expense, he writes in his memorandum-book the following prayer, expressive of the same sense of the obligations that were upon him, and the same desire to fulfil them;—

“Bless, O Lord, thy holy church, and particularly this part of it, where Thou hast made me an overseer and guide. O, my great master, let me not satisfy myself in building and beautifying the places dedicated to thy honour, but assist me by thy Holy Spirit, that I may use my utmost endeavours to make every one of these people living temples of the living God, that they may believe in Thee, the chief corner-stone; and that by this faith, both they and I may at last come to worship Thee in heaven, and to give Thee praise and glory for all thy mercies bestowed upon us; for Thou art worthy, O Lord,

to receive glory, and honour, and power, for Thou hast created all things, and for thy pleasure they are, and were created."

His official residence, Bishop's-court, was at this time in a very dilapidated state; owing, in part, to its having continued without an inhabitant for eight years; he was therefore obliged to rebuild the dwelling-house, and almost all the offices, from the ground. The expense of these and other necessary improvements amounted to fourteen hundred pounds; a heavy outlay, when we consider that the money-payments of his bishopric did not exceed three hundred pounds a-year. One only regret seems to have possessed his mind with regard to this large expenditure; "It having pleased God," he says, "to bring me to the bishopric of Man, I find the house in ruins, which obliges me to interrupt my charity to the poor in some measure."

It was also soon after his appointment that the earl of Derby again offered to him the living of Baddesworth, to hold *in commendam*. For this new proof of his noble patron's regard he was duly thankful, but as he still felt the propriety of the resolutions which he had made at an early period of his ministry, he declined accepting the offer. In this instance, as well as in his conduct on many other occasions, he presented a noble example of a strict adherence to the dictates of his conscience, and showed that he would not allow his worldly interests to give a fair appearance to what he really believed to be wrong.

In order to our forming a right judgment of his conduct as a governor of the church, it is requisite that we should be acquainted with a few particulars relative to the scene of his exertions

The Isle of Man is situated in the Irish sea, and nearly

at an equal distance from the English and Irish coasts, in latitude between fifty-four and fifty-five degrees north, and longitude about five degrees west. It is about thirty miles in length, varies from eight to twelve miles in breadth, and is about eighty miles in circumference. We should form a very erroneous idea of the place and the people of whom bishop Wilson had the spiritual charge, if we were to judge from their present condition. The towns are handsome and extensive; large sums have been expended, (particularly since the commencement of the present century,) in erecting churches, chapels, a college, schools, places of public amusement, hotels and boarding-houses, markets, piers, and light-houses. Elegant mansions and tasteful villas are scattered throughout the island, a considerable number of English families have settled there, and the society differs in no respect from that of our larger island. By the last census the population appears to be 41,000. Some soldiers of the British army are always quartered there. Manufactories of paper, cloth, linen, and other commodities, are in full work; and the number of ships belonging to the island in 1829, was 217, of the aggregate burden of 5714 tons.

In all these particulars the Isle of Man has undergone a remarkable change since the days of bishop Wilson. When he was appointed to the see, the population did not exceed 15,000. In the time of Bede, that is, in the eighth century, it had not amounted to more than 2,000. In the early part of the bishop's residence there, the island was frequented by very few strangers; the higher classes of the inhabitants consisted of those who were tenants of the soil under the lord of the island; the poor were employed in agriculture and fishing, living chiefly upon oat-cake and salt herrings, and dwelling in cottages

built of sods, often without a window, and with an aperture in the roof for the passage of the smoke. Indeed, habitations of this sort are still to be seen in the more retired parts of the island.

The social state of the people at that period was probably somewhat like the present condition of the Waldenses, or of the flock of Oberlin in the Ban de la Roche, both of which have recently been made so well known to us by numerous publications. Indeed, not only did the bishop exercise his ministry in a sphere similar to that of Oberlin, but he was also a man of the same spirit. Both were holy, zealous, disinterested; both were distinguished for simplicity, integrity, and sweetness of temper; both were ardently loved and highly revered; and both diligently helped forward a poor, simple, and unlettered people on their way to heaven.

The Manksmen are represented as being then contented and happy; and so honest that theft was unknown amongst them. Their laws were for the most part nothing more than unwritten principles of equity, bearing the significant name of Breast-laws; and bishop Wilson says, in his *History of the Isle of Man*, which was written subsequently to the year 1739, that is, full forty years after his arrival there, that "it is but of late years that attorneys, and such as gain by strife, have ever forced themselves into business; and except what these get out of the people, lawsuits are determined without much charges." He also expresses his opinion of the general character of the people in the following terms:—"The natives are in general an orderly, civil, and peaceable people, well-instructed in the duties of christianity as professed in the church of England, more constant in their attendance on the public worship of God, and behaving with more seriousness and decency, than in

many other places where there are better opportunities of instruction."

"The inhabitants have a great many good qualities; they are generally very charitable to the poor, and hospitable to strangers; especially in the country, where the people, if a stranger come to their houses, would think it an unpardonable crime not to give him a share of the best they have themselves to eat or drink. They have a significant proverb (which generally shows the genius of a people), to this purport, 'When one poor man relieves another, God himself rejoices at it.'"

Such was the flock of which bishop Wilson found himself the pastor and patriarch. And considering, as he did, that he was appointed to watch over their souls, and that he was bound by the most sacred ties to use all diligence in building them up in their most holy faith, and to preserve them from the infection of corrupt doctrine and evil practice, he betook himself at once to serious inquiry as to the most likely means of discharging this duty efficiently. After mature deliberation, he came to the conclusion that the primitive church had exercised a wholesome discipline, warranted by holy Scripture, for the warning of heedless persons to walk more warily, and for the punishment of evil-doers; and he wished that the church over which he presided might be regulated, as nearly as possible, according to that model. Such a discipline appeared more likely to be useful and efficacious, since all the inhabitants of the island at that time belonged professedly to one church, and therefore an offender who might be separated from the congregation would be the more likely to be brought to repentance by that punishment, because there was no other christian communion with which he could take refuge.

Bishop Wilson found some ancient laws in the island

which had been framed for this very purpose; and all that he now saw occasion to do, was to revise and arrange them, and to adapt them to the present condition of the church of Christ. This was put into execution in the year 1703, when certain *Ecclesiastical Constitutions* were at his suggestion adopted by a full convocation of the clergy; and all the official persons in the island, including the lord, subscribed the same, in token that they "found them very reasonable, just, and necessary."

The preamble of this document clearly shows the design with which it was drawn up. It is as follows:—
"In the name of our great Lord and Master, the Lord Jesus Christ, and to the glory and increase of his kingdom amongst men; We the bishop, archdeacon, vicars-general, and clergy of the Isle, who do subscribe these articles,—that we may not stand charged with the scandals which wicked men bring upon religion, while they are admitted to, and reputed members of, Christ's church; and that we may, by all laudable means, promote the conversion of sinners, and oblige men to submit to the discipline of the gospel; and lastly, that we may provide for the instruction of the growing age in Christian learning and good manners;—have formed these following constitutions, which we oblige ourselves (by God's help) to observe; and to endeavour that all others within our several cures shall comply with the same."

The constitutions, thus prefaced, were in many respects well calculated to repress vice; they would have been free from all exception if they had not authorised the use of temporal restraints for the purpose of enforcing the observance of religious duties. They appear however to have been attended with good in that little society, impeding the growth of evil, and restoring the straying sheep to right paths.

Bishop Wilson saw that under particular circumstances such discipline would only tend to irritate and harden offenders, or to drive them to some other communion; and he acknowledged that it could not be maintained in England, "by reason of the schisms and heresies which abounded there." But he felt that no such impediment existed within his own diocese; he hoped that the measures pursued by the church would produce that godly sorrow which worketh true repentance, and in this hope he possessed the sympathies of those who were anxious for the moral and religious well-being of their native island. As for himself, there could be no doubt of his exercising authority with paternal mildness. So pious, kind, and meek a pastor would never rule his sheep in a spirit of severity; and even if other evidence were wanting, we might find it in the love with which the people regarded their bishop, and which proved that he dealt with them tenderly and kindly.

We may perhaps connect his views of church government with his recollections of Dr. Sherlock, his respected relative. That good man, by his pious exertions, had made his parish a pattern to all around; and while he was singularly humble and devout, he was also bold in rebuking vice, and by the exercise, in extreme cases, of ecclesiastical discipline, kept his people free from gross evils and abuses.

Lord Chancellor King commended very highly bishop Wilson's *Constitutions*, and observed, that "if the ancient discipline of the church were lost, it might be found in all its purity in the Isle of Man."

But bishop Wilson considered an united and zealous body of faithful ministers as the best means, under the blessing and grace of God, of diffusing holiness and sound religious principles. Lamenting, in one of his charges,

the vices and 'corruptions which were creeping into this once "quiet little nation," he says, "the most effectual way to prevent this will be, for all of *us*, that are appointed to watch over the flock of Christ, to employ our *thoughts*, our *zeal*, and our *time*, in promoting of true piety; in labouring to make men good; and in converting sinners from the error of their ways, that we may preserve the *power*, as well as the *form* of godliness." He therefore encouraged his clergy in all their labours, and led them on to cultivate the Lord's vineyard with renewed diligence and care. From the first, his conduct towards them presents an example which it is more easy to admire than to equal. The kindness and gentleness for which he ever prayed were tempered by a sense of duty in the discharge, according to his ability, of the functions of his responsible office. He had a watchful eye, and a firm hand when it was needful, but his great desire was to be loved rather than feared, to be considered as in all things their equal except in the exercise of his duty as a bishop. he wished rather to be thought of as the cheerful adviser and faithful counsellor, than as the officer invested with power.

"His affection for his clergy," says Mr. Stowell, "was strong and uniform. He was attentive to all their wants, and laboured incessantly to advance their temporal, spiritual, and eternal interests. He regarded their exigencies as his own, and was watchful to supply them as far as was in his power. He made additions to their glebes, contributed to the repairs and improvements of their houses, and increased their comforts in a variety of ways. There are few, even of the present race of clergy, who do not feel the effects of bishop Wilson's benefactions. Many of the conveniences which they enjoy are the fruits of his beneficence, and part of the bread which they eat is

raised from ground purchased by his liberality. He maintained a constant intercourse with his clergy," and took great pleasure in contemplating the unanimity which prevailed amongst them, declaring, in one of his addresses to them, how happy he was in the love and obedience of all his clergy, and that he had lived with them in perfect love and unity for more than threc-and-twenty years, and had their interest at heart as much as his own. "He encouraged them to apply to him in every difficulty, he assisted them in the prosecution of their studies, he animated them to more vigorous efforts in their ministry, he sympathized with them in distress, and took a hearty concern in all their affairs. The elder clergy he treated as his brethren, the younger as his children. He considered all of them, in a great measure, as members of his family, and received them under his hospitable roof with the most affectionate welcome. They frequently spent days and weeks at his house, and always returned to their own homes happier, wiser, and better. In all their distresses, whether personal or professional, whether of a private or public nature, they were sure to meet with the best counsels and the sweetest consolations at Bishop's-court. Even in the most delicate circumstances of domestic life, they found in their bishop a counsellor and a friend. He mentions in his private memoranda his intention of visiting the family of one of his clergy, in which he understood some unhappy disagreements prevailed, and his resolution to endeavour to heal the domestic breach, and restore peace and harmony. This minute attention to the personal and domestic comforts of his clergy marks an interest in their welfare truly paternal. He distinguished with peculiar regard those of them who were faithful in the discharge of their duty, admitted them to all the familiarities of the most intimate friend-

ship, and felt high delight in their society. Some of them, who have within these few years been removed from this imperfect state, were accustomed to speak of the venerable bishop in the glowing language of gratitude and affection; and with a kind of holy rapture to recount his virtues and enumerate his charities. His name was no sooner mentioned than the countenance began to brighten, the recollection of past days to revive, the voice to assume a softer tone, and 'narrative old age' to relate a thousand acts of beneficence and piety associated with that name.

"The mention of bishop Wilson was sure to introduce an interesting and useful conversation, to bring to recollection some pious remark which he had uttered, some labour of love which he had performed, or some important advice which he had given. No wonder that his clergy should have felt such an attachment to his person, and have retained such a veneration for his memory. Their obligations to him were numerous and powerful.

"From the time they first disclosed their intention of devoting themselves to the service of the sanctuary, he formed a connexion with them somewhat similar to that which subsisted between Eli and Samuel. He watched over their conduct, [and enjoined those who should sign their testimonials to be watchful also,] he guided their studies, and directed their pursuits. For a year before their entrance on the holy ministry, he took them to reside in his family, that they might be continually under his inspection and have the benefit of his daily instructions.* This invaluable privilege tended to form the young candidates to genuine piety and extensive use-

* It is related by the Rev. Legh Richmond, in one of his letters, that his great uncle was "educated and prepared for the ministry by Dr Thomas Wilson, bishop of Sodor and Man."

fulness. They had the advantage of a pious and enlightened instructor to assist them in the hourly prosecution of their studies, to elucidate what was obscure, to expound what was difficult, and to enforce what was important. He took particular pains to bring the young students to an accurate and distinct knowledge of the Greek Testament. They every day read a portion of it to him, and heard his remarks and observations on the passage read. He recommended to their perusal the best writers in divinity, conversed with them on the subject of personal religion, and both by precept and example laboured earnestly to render them *able ministers of the New Testament*.

“ All their readings and studies were directed to this important end. His great desire was to form them after the model of primitive christianity, to lead them ‘to read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest’ the Holy Scriptures, to influence them to *love* and *live* the gospel, and to follow the steps of prophets, apostles, confessors, and martyrs, and, above all, to have the same mind in them which was also in Christ Jesus.

“ A better school of divinity these candidates for the sacred office could scarcely have attended. The scriptural lessons which they were daily learning from their books they hourly beheld exemplified in the life of their revered instructor. The work of faith, the labour of love, the patience of hope, were continually before their eyes. Every hour presented a comment on some lesson of christianity, or an illustration of some christian grace and virtue. The conversation, the instruction, the prayers, and the example, of this apostolical prelate were admirably calculated to form zealous and useful pastors. The students under his care enjoyed peculiar advantages of a literary, moral, and religious nature. . . . Without the

formality of college lectures, the bishop was daily communicating the substance of such lectures in a more attractive manner and a more engaging style. His table-talk was often as instructive as the professor's dissertation, and his general conversation conveyed valuable lessons of piety."

Considering, as he once expressed it, "that the best men have sometimes need of being stirred up, that they may not lose a spirit of piety, which is but too apt to languish," he frequently addressed his clergy in circular Letters and Charges, many of which still remain to prove what an excellent and watchful friend and adviser they possessed in him.

For the same purpose he wrote a work entitled *Parochialia ; or Instructions to the Clergy* ; a treatise full of useful suggestions. It is prefaced by an admirable address to the clergy on the duty of studying the Scriptures, the necessity of personal religion, of diligence in opposing error and vice, and of privately teaching and admonishing the people. This work was written in the year 1708, but not printed for many years after. The bishop, however, circulated it by means of transcribed copies ; and this circumstance may explain the purport of the following letter which a descendant of the clergyman to whom it was written has permitted us to copy from the curious and highly interesting original manuscript:—

" For the Reverend Mr. Crebbin, Vicar of Kk St. Anne.

" Mr. Crebbin,

June 7th, 1737.

" I send you the paper you desire, you will be careful to return it in 14 days at farthest. I have given Copys to most of the Elder Clergy. It is worth a Pastor's while to look over it, if it were but to pick out what he may think convenient to the Instruction of his Flock, for

such purpose it was drawn up 30 yeares agoe, & I am now solicited to print it wth several oth^r little papers relating to the Dutys of a Parochial Minister, and pray God it may answ^r y^e end.

“ I am yo^r Friend & Broth^r,

“ THO. SODOR & MAN.”

Before we pass on to other matters, we will make one more extract from Mr. Stowell's work. “ The clergy regarded him as their father and their friend. Some of them, whose conduct constrained him to exercise a degree of necessary severity towards them, were so fully persuaded of the purity of his motives and the kindness of his intentions, that they felt no sensation of resentment, but through life retained unbounded respect for his memory, and ever spoke of him with the highest gratitude and esteem. At the expiration of nearly half a century after his decease, aged ministers have been heard to recount the virtues of bishop Wilson with tears of affection trembling in their eyes. The memories of the descendants of the last race of clergymen in the Isle of Man are deeply impressed with the good report which they have heard from their fathers of this reverend prelate, and to the latest posterity his deeds of charity shall be told for a memorial of him.”

In the year 1707, the universities of Oxford and Cambridge honoured thèmselves by conferring on bishop Wilson the degree of doctor of divinity. And about the same time he became a member of the venerable Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

In 1710 business called him to England, and as all vessels from the Isle of Man were for some reason required, just at that time, to perform quarantine before entering any of the ports in England, he crossed in an

open boat to Scotland, and, landing at Kirkcudbright, was persuaded by the earl of Galloway and some others to whom he was known, to visit Edinburgh, where his acquaintance was much sought after. On his departure from that city, a great number of nobility, gentry, and clergy, conducted him, nearly as far as Carlisle.

In the following year we meet with similar tokens of his good name having extended itself through the towns and villages of England. On his way to London, bearing a commission to make some arrangements relative to the excise, the people crowded round him in the places through which he passed, testifying their deep respect, and begging his blessing. Queen Anne was delighted to see him, desired him to preach before her, and called him the silver-tongued bishop. She also offered to him an English bishopric, but he begged to be excused, saying that "with the blessing of God, he could do some good in the little spot that he then resided on; whereas, if he were removed into a larger sphere, he might be lost, and forget his duty to his flock and to his God."

The feeling which influenced him in this case is more fully declared in the *Sacra Privata*, in the following words. "When men's labours are attended with tolerable success, yet because either they can better their temporal condition, or think that a more public station would be more suitable to their great capacities, they leave their station for one more full of dangers, without any prospect of being more serviceable to God, or to his church and the souls of men; not considering that this is the voice of pride, self-love, and covetousness; and an evil example to others, to whom we do or should preach humility, as the very foundation of christianity. . . To leave a clergy and a people to whom one is perfectly well known, to go to another to whom one is a stranger, and this for the

sake of riches, which are supposed to have been renounced: this was unknown to the first ages of christianity."

Let this example not only excite the admiration of men, but moderate their ambitious desires, and infuse into their hearts a like spirit of contentedness and self-denial!

It may seem strange to say, that during the greater part of the life of this excellent man, corrupt principles and practice were establishing themselves amongst the people whose affection he so largely possessed. Yet such was the case. In his Charges, year after year, he deplores the increasing evidences of forgetfulness of God: and a growing population, which exceeded 20,000 many years before his death, daily became more tainted with vice as they became more numerous. He consequently speaks mournfully of the loss of their ancient reputation; a reputation not ill-deserved, since, in the early part of his residence amongst them, he had no lock to his outer door, nor any other fastening than a latch.

These sprinklings of tares amongst the wheat may be easily traced to their proper origin. Throughout his charges we find him lamenting the effects of the great influx of strangers. "We are most unjustly reproached," he says in his Charge of 1724, "for being enemies to strangers. I wish to God we had been more enemies to such of them as have from time to time corrupted our manners and our principles, and afterwards raised an evil report upon the whole community, for the vices of those whom they themselves have corrupted."

From other sources we learn that these strangers were persons who made the island their residence in order to carry on more securely a lucrative contraband trade. It had nothing else to tempt them, for neither were

there any manufactures, nor a surplus produce from the soil; nor were the people rich enough to give encouragement to speculators by making large purchases of imported goods. But, from its central position, it became the grand resort and warehouse of smugglers, who shipped off their goods, as occasion offered, to England, Scotland, and Ireland. To adopt the words of Mr. Britton, in his *Beauties of England and Wales* — “Merchants from various countries flourished in every town; and the expression of the traveller, that the whole isle was become a horde of smugglers, was hardly too strong to characterize the number of its inhabitants who were engaged in the different branches of its illicit traffic.” He further says, that “the insular revenue of the lord was considerably augmented by the clandestine commerce of his people.”

It appears that these elements of demoralization were not introduced into the “quiet little nation” for some time after bishop Wilson’s arrival there. But in a few years the smugglers carried on their transactions to so great an extent as materially to affect the British revenues, and to bring the subject before parliament at different times subsequently to the year 1726.

Another source of grief and discouragement to the bishop was the want of countenance and support from the chief civil power, which he latterly had reason to complain of. His good friend and patron, the earl of Derby, his pupil’s father, died in 1702; and neither his brother James, the tenth earl, who succeeded him, nor the officers whom he brought into the island, appear to have entertained that respect and regard for the bishop which were so generally conceded to him. But, whatever might be the cause, it is certain that the civil authorities bore considerable animosity towards the ecclesiasti-

cal jurisdiction, and showed it by an unjust exercise of power. On one occasion the governor prevented the execution of a sentence passed by the spiritual court ; he also oppressed a clergyman by imposing an illegal fine and imprisonment ; and so manifest was the intention of undermining and subverting the established regulations of the church, that it was necessary either to annul them altogether, or to bring matters to an issue. The bishop resolved to abide by the existing laws, and still continued to enforce them with his usual temper and mildness, and without any regard to the personal inconvenience or hostility to which he might be exposed in the performance of his duty.

In 1722, a case occurred which brought him in direct collision with captain Horne, the governor of the island.

Archdeacon Horrobin, the governor's chaplain, appears to have been tainted with some serious errors of a socinian character, and to have held his ecclesiastical superiors in no great respect, being desirous of setting aside the *Constitutions*, and not scrupling to act in direct disobedience to them. Bishop Wilson charges him with having "delivered several things from the pulpit not agreeable to truth and sound doctrine ; and, by an obstinate defence of them, after he was seriously admonished to forbear giving offence, having done what in him lay to involve in endless disputes a church which at his coming he found in perfect peace and unity." The errors alleged against him bear so close an affinity to those which bishop Wilson reprobates, in one of his Charges, as being disseminated by a book intitled the *Independent Whig*, at that time diligently circulated by the governor and his party, that it seems natural to trace the sentiments of the chaplain to that source.

The instance of his open breach of discipline was one

in which his name stands implicated with that of the governor's lady. The case is stated in nearly the following terms, by bishop Wilson, in a letter to the earl of Derby, the lord of the island.

"The archdeacon, having repulsed one Mrs. Puller from the sacrament, gave me notice thereof in order to an hearing; amongst other reasons he gave for so doing, one was, that Madam Horne, the governor's lady, had informed him that she had seen certain improprieties between sir James Poole and the said gentlewoman, which he thought a sufficient reason for expelling her from the Lord's Table, which he did without any previous admonition.

"Sir James and the gentlewoman, complaining of this as a grievous slander, demanded of us power to charge the archdeacon to make it good, or to suffer as a slanderer. The archdeacon, to free himself, brought Madam Horne, who owned herself to be the author of the information; and, having no evidence to support the charge, and also refusing to declare how the matter was, (unless she might do it upon oath, which the law did not admit of, in regard she could not be both accuser and witness,) sir James and the gentlewoman demanded the benefit of the law, which was to clear themselves upon oath; which they did, after a very solemn manner, with lawful compurgators, and then petitioned for reparation for such an unjust reproach cast upon them. This we could not in justice deny, and therefore Madam Horne was only to ask their forgiveness for the slander, and that under such penalties as the law directs.

"This, my lord, is plain matter of fact: and were we to die for it, we could not have done otherwise, if we resolved to act agreeably to the law, our oaths, and duty." It was even proposed as a sufficient compensation, that

she should acknowledge her offence "privately, before the vicar of the parish, asking forgiveness for the great injury done."

Captain Horne, however, was probably pleased at having an opportunity of resisting the ecclesiastical law, as well as piqued at the injury done to his consequence by this treatment of his wife. He therefore encouraged her in refusing to make any apology, and the consequence was, that, in accordance with the law, sentence was promulgated, excluding her from the holy communion till reparation should be made. Notwithstanding this, the archdeacon administered the sacrament to her as before; and the bishop, feeling that to omit punishing this offence was virtually to annul the law and to neglect his duty, suspended the offender.

The archdeacon was highly indignant at this treatment, but, instead of applying to the archbishop of York, who was the proper judge to appeal to in such a case, he made his appeal to his friend the governor, who, under pretence that the bishop had exercised powers not entrusted to him by the law, fined him £50, and his two vicars-general (who had been officially concerned in the suspension) £20 each. This fine they all refused to pay as an illegal demand; upon which the governor sent a party of soldiers, and on the 29th of June 1722, the bishop, Dr. Walker, and Mr. Curchay, were arrested and conveyed to the prison of Castle Rushin, where they were kept closely confined for nine weeks, no persons being admitted within the walls to see or converse with them.

An universal sentiment of indignation possessed the people, when they heard of the imprisonment of their pastor and friend. They assembled in crowds, and their first impulse was to pull down the house of the governor.

Upon this bishop Wilson was permitted to address them from the prison-walls, and he besought them to use violence to no man, at the same time assuring them that he meant to "appeal to Cæsar," meaning the king; and that he did not doubt that his majesty would give him redress, if he was unworthy of those bonds. With this the people were restrained from violence, but daily, during his imprisonment, they showed their affectionate sense of his goodness and kindness, by assembling in crowds round the walls which confined him and his brethren.

As a further means of pacifying and comforting the people, he sent a circular letter to his clergy, three days after his commitment, and directed that it should be read publicly in the churches throughout the island. This letter was as follows:—

"MY BRETHREN,—Though our persons are confined to this place, yet our affection for you, and our concern for the flock over which the Holy Ghost hath made us overseers, and our prayers for both, are at full liberty. And we doubt not but our authority, in matters spiritual at least, will be obeyed by you and by all such as fear God, for our great Master's sake, who has promised to be with us always, even unto the end of the world.

"I desire therefore, and require of every one of you, that you make regular presentments to my registrar of all unquiet, disobedient, and criminous persons within your several parishes, that we may correct and punish them according to such authority as we have by God's word.

"I beg that you will be more than ordinarily diligent in discharging the several duties of your sacred calling; this will be the best testimony of your affection for us. And I beseech you, let no unworthy thoughts enter your

hearts, nor unbecoming words come out of your mouths, against those that have given us this trouble.

“If we suffer for righteousness’ sake, that is, for doing our duty, it will turn very much to our account. And if we have been mistaken in any thing, there are proper judges superior to us all, who will be able to clear up these difficulties, to the satisfaction of all good men and lovers of peace.

“And that none of your people may transgress the bounds of duty and obedience to the civil magistrate, (who is God’s minister in temporal matters, as we are in spirituals,) and so come to suffer as evil doers, I pray you communicate this letter and my hearty desires to whom you shall think fit, that they may be convinced that neither they nor we have any reason to be uneasy at what has befallen us.

“And if to this you afford us your daily prayers, which as your bishop I require, that we may both perceive and know what things we ought to do, and also have grace and power faithfully to fulfil the same; that this church may be always ordered and guided by faithful and true pastors, such as may constantly speak the truth, boldly rebuke vice, and patiently suffer for righteousness’ sake; you will then do what becomes worthy sons of a father and bishop, who every day of his life remembers you at the throne of grace. THO. SODOR AND MAN.”

“2nd *Julii*, 1722.”

In the same spirit of submission to the will of God in chastening him, the following entry was found in his diary: —“St. Peter’s Day, 1722. I and my two vicars-general were fined ninety pounds, and imprisoned in Castle-Rushin, for censuring and refusing to take off the censure of certain offenders: which punishment and contempt I desire to receive from God as a means of humbling me.”

The bishop and his two friends, finding that there was no prospect of the governor's relenting, were advised to pay the fines, and then to appeal to the king in council ; and accordingly, after a close confinement of two months, they were released on the 31st of August. The day of their liberation was a day of general joy. Old and young, rich and poor, assembled from all parts of the island, and formed such a procession as had never before been witnessed. The populace wished to spread their clothes under the bishop's feet, and when he refused to accept this demonstration of their regard, they strewed his path with flowers. The road leading from Castletown to Bishop's-court, for more than three miles was thronged with persons on foot and horseback ; and, for want of better music, multitudes had provided themselves with pipes of elder-wood. A bonfire at Kirk-Michael added to these testimonies of love and joy.

His cause was afterwards fairly investigated and tried before the king in council, who, on the 4th of July, 1724, issued an order, decreeing that the judgments or sentences given by the governor and his officers " be reversed and set aside, in regard they had no jurisdiction," and that the fines be returned.

This affair entailed upon bishop Wilson considerable personal injury. The comfortable habitations called prisons in England, are far different from the cold and damp cell which was the place of his confinement. He there contracted a disorder in his right hand, which deprived him ever after of the free use of his fingers, in consequence of which he was obliged, in writing, to grasp the pen with his whole hand.

The expense, also, incurred in bringing this case of oppression before the privy council, was severely felt by the bishop ; and though a considerable subscription was

raised in England to defray it, yet still there remained heavy claims upon his small purse. His solicitor, indeed, advised him to prosecute the governor in the English courts of law, to recover compensation for his great expense ; but to this he would not consent, declaring that having now established the discipline of the church, he felt no resentment for the personal injury he had undergone, but that he sincerely and fully forgave his persecutor.

During his confinement in Castle-Rushin, the magistrates, officially assembled, forwarded an address to the bishop and the other ecclesiastical judges, in which they paid this testimony to their merits on the only point on which bishop Wilson had ever been called in question. "As to the charge of exercising a spiritual tyranny, we do solemnly testify, (as we are in duty bound,) that there is no cause to us known for so strange an imputation ; being verily persuaded that you have been so far from assuming to yourselves any undue authority, that the church was never better governed than in your time, nor justice more impartially administered in the ecclesiastical courts of this isle."

When this affair was concluded, the king offered him the bishopric of Exeter, which he declined to accept. His majesty then promised to defray the expenses of the late process out of the privy purse, but, dying soon after, the promise was never fulfilled.

What became of archdeacon Horrobin is not mentioned by the biographers of bishop Wilson. We are only informed that he presented a petition to the bishop for the removal of his suspension : to which an answer was given, that in order to be restored he must acknowledge the legality of the sentence which had been passed upon him, and "promise for the future to avoid giving

any occasion of disturbing the peace and unity of the church; and this with a sincerity becoming a christian, and in terms bespeaking a real conviction."

The affliction of their beloved friend and bishop appears to have softened and improved the hearts of the people. He always used to say, "that he never governed his diocese so well as when he was in prison; and, for his own share, if he could have borne the confinement consistently with his health, he would have been content to have abode there all his life for the good of his flock, who were then more pious and devout than at any other time."

As it is evident that bishop Wilson's sentiments on the subject of church government were in harmony with the laws of the island, which he had himself collected and arranged, and that he deemed it good to maintain a strict ecclesiastical discipline, as being conducive to the purity of the church, it may be proper to let him explain his views more fully; and therefore we shall here introduce a few extracts from a sermon which he preached "at a public Penance," upon Josh: vii. 19. 20. *And Joshua said unto Achan, My son, give, I pray thee, glory to the Lord God of Israel, and make confession unto him; and tell me now what thou hast done, hide it not from me. And Achan answered Joshua and said, Indeed I have sinned against the Lord God of Israel, and thus and thus have I done.* He there states that the terms of kindness employed in the text "teach us after what manner we ought to treat such as have fallen into any grievous sins, in order to bring them to a sense of their error."

"*My son*, saith Joshua, the prince and leader of the people of Israel; *My son!*—to a man who for his sin had deserved and was immediately put to death.

"And shall not we, with the same tenderness, and with greater if it be possible, receive the confession of one of

our fellow-Christians ; who professeth, and we hope sincerely, to turn from his evil ways ?

“ What passions other people have upon such occasions as these, I cannot tell ; but for myself, I profess, so many mortifying and sorrowful thoughts come into my heart at such times as these, that those who undergo the shame of public penance scarce suffer more than I do, who have inflicted it. I consider myself as one subject to the same infirmities, the same temptations, and the same dangers, with those that have fallen ; and that it is owing to the mere mercy of God, and not to my own wisdom, or strength, or holiness, that sin and hell have not got the dominion over me.

“ Such a sorrowful occasion as this even forces one to remember, every man his own failings, which have been enough to have provoked God to have given the very best of us up to our own hearts’ lusts, but that God is gracious and merciful, long suffering, forgiving iniquity and transgression.

“ Add to this, that as we are Christians, and all of one body, the church ; one member cannot suffer, but all the members must suffer with it.

“ But we, that are God’s ministers have still greater reason to be very sensibly affected, when we consider, that perhaps it is for some fault of ours, some great neglect of our duty ; and that it is to reprove us, that God has suffered any of our flock to fall into such dangerous and repeated crimes.

“ All these things laid together, you will all be satisfied, as well as I am, that tears will become the very best of us upon these occasions, and that every one for himself, as well as for this our brother, ought with penitent hearts, and humble spirits, to smite our breasts, and say, God be merciful unto us miserable sinners.

“And oh! that I could so speak upon this sad occasion, and that you would so seriously attend to what I say, that by the favour of God, we might, for the future, have fewer instances of the wickednesses we are subject to, when God gives any of us up to ourselves for the hardness of our hearts.”

He then proceeds to state the reasons why a true penitent ought to give glory to God by a public confession of such crimes as may have led others into sin; and this leads him to assert it to be the duty of all who have deserved the censures of the church, to submit to them “out of a principle of conscience, and not out of fear of fines or imprisonments. And I am the more obliged to do this,” he remarks, “because this matter is not well understood by many, and not well received by most, who should understand things better.”

“And in the first place, St. Paul saith expressly, that the governors of the church have a power from Christ. What this power is we learn from other places of the Scripture. First, it is a spiritual power: the princes of the Gentiles exercise authority over them, (saith Christ,) but it shall not be so among you. Your authority shall be purely spiritual; a spiritual house, as the church of Christ is called by St. Paul, must have spiritual governors.

“And their power, as is plain from the gospel, consists of these following particulars: They are to receive into the house or church of God such as are fit to be members of so holy a society. For this end they had the keys of the kingdom of heaven, (that is, of the church of Christ) given them, to admit such as are worthy, and desirous to enter into it.

“After this, their duty is, (for they have a duty and burthen, as well as a power,) their duty is, to teach and to exhort with wholesome doctrine; to tell men what they ought to do to be saved; to pray for the souls com-

mitted to their charge; to support, and to comfort the weak; to offer to God the oblations of the people; and to administer those sacraments, without which we cannot hope to be saved.

“Besides these parts of their office, they have power given them by Christ, who well foresaw that many would embrace christianity who would afterwards be a scandal to it; he therefore gave the governours of his church power after they have rebuked, admonished, and withstood the disobedient and profane, to cast them out of his family the church; with this assurance, that whatever they did on earth in the way of their duty should be made good in heaven.

“In the time of the apostles, and a long time after, Christians were so well convinced of this, that sinners durst not live in disobedience to their spiritual pastors, in matters relating to their spiritual welfare; though there was then no law to punish them for such contempt. Nay, the laws and government then encouraged men to despise and resist their spiritual guides, whom they punished with imprisonment, fines, and death. And yet Christians were more afraid of their censures then, than now men are of imprisonment.”

Again he says;—

“We profess to have no power given us by Christ, but for your edification; that is, to build, and to establish you in godliness.”

“We pretend not to any power to lord it over God’s heritage; but this is the power we have from Christ, to rebuke, and that with authority, as very well knowing that God will warrant us in what we do in his name, and for his honour.

“We have power to deny the sacraments to all such as render themselves unworthy of them.

“We have power to shut men that are obstinately

wicked out of the church, that they may no longer scandalize the Christian profession ; and to charge all other Christians not to accompany with them. And those that will not obey do not reject our authority, but the authority of Christ.

“ Lastly, we have power to receive the penitent, to absolve, and to comfort them.

“ And the same Lord who gives us this power, gives all penitents, who submit to it, an assurance that they may depend upon what we do in his name. Whatsoever ye loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.—Whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them.

“ We desire not to lord it over your consciences ; we desire you to submit to the laws of Jesus Christ, not to any rules of ours, which he has not plainly warranted ; in one word, we only desire to be helpers forward of your salvation, which you all hope for, as well as we.”

He concludes by assuring the congregation that outward tokens of repentance will not avail anything, unless they proceed from an humble and contrite spirit. “ If an inward change of heart and an outward reformation of manners do not follow, all your promises are lies, and all your sorrow is vile hypocrisy.” “ And now,” he adds, “ I pray you all to join with me in these petitions,—That God of his goodness would be pleased to continue to this part of Christ’s church the power and spirit of discipline ; that he would restore godly discipline to all christian churches ; and that he would vouchsafe unto all that are engaged in sinful courses, a true sense of their errors, true sorrow and repentance for them, and his gracious pardon ; that God may be glorified in their confession, amendment, and salvation, for Jesus Christ’s sake.”

CHAPTER III.

HIS DOMESTIC CHARACTER.

The parson is very exact in the governing of his house, making it a copy and model for his parish.—*Herbert's Country Parson.*"

Grant, O Lord, that my care and conduct in the church of God, may appear in the order and piety of my own family. O Heavenly Lord and Master, bless us, and take us under thy gracious protection ; and make us an household fearing God, and examples to others of order, diligence, faithfulness, and piety.—*Bishop Wilson.*

A FEW months after his appointment to the see of Sodor and Man, bishop Wilson returned to England for the purpose of being married to Mary the daughter of Thomas Patten, Esq. a gentleman who traced his descent by a direct line from a brother of the devout bishop William of Wainfleet, the munificent founder of Magdalen College, at Oxford, and whose family had long resided at Warrington, a town not very far from the parish of Winwick, in which bishop Wilson had passed so many years of his ministry. Before taking so important a step he did not fail to implore the guidance and blessing of God, which he felt to be essential to his happiness in every condition of life. "Make her," he prayed, "whom Thou wilt make my wife a meet help for me, that we may live together to thy honour and glory in this world, and be made partakers of everlasting glory in the world to come." Another prayer composed for their daily use was also found amongst his papers, and it is here subjoined because it shows the spirit and temper in which they wished to live together.

"T. } *Wilson.* { *To be said every morning together,*
 "M. } { *before we stir abroad.*

"O God, by whose favour and providence we are made one flesh, look mercifully upon us from heaven, and bless

us, and make us instrumental to the eternal welfare of each other.

“ Give us grace that we may faithfully perform our marriage vows, that we may live in perfect love and peace together, in a conscientious obedience to thy laws, and in a comfortable prospect of happiness all our days. Grant, if it be thy gracious will, that we may live to see our children christianly and virtuously brought up ; or if in thy wisdom thou shalt order it otherwise, be pleased in mercy to provide for their everlasting happiness. In the mean time, give us grace that we may teach them, and our household, the fear of God, and be examples to them of piety and true religion.

“ Continue to us such a share of the good things of this world as to Thee seems most meet for us ; and whatever our condition shall be, enable us to be content and thankful. Vouchsafe us a share in the happiness of the next life : and thy blessed will be done for what shall happen to us in this.

“ Hear us, O God, for Jesus Christ his sake, the Son of thy love. *Amen, Amen.*”

Mrs. Wilson proved to be a most worthy and suitable companion for this excellent man, being, according to his own description, endued with great modesty and meekness of spirit, remarkable for the discharge of her duty to her parents, and for her love to her relations ; he praises God for her great love to him and his friends, for her fidelity to her marriage vows, her tender affection to her children, her performance of all the offices of a kind and pious mother, her peculiar care of her family, and the prudence and mildness with which she governed it ; for her unaffected modesty in her own and her children's apparel, and the great humility of her conversation with all sorts of persons ; for her great com-

passion for the poor and miserable, and her cheerful compliance with him in relieving them.

Unfortunately, however, very few notices of Mrs. Wilson have been preserved, and this sketch of her character is taken from one of her husband's prayers composed at the time of her death.

Their children were four in number. Amongst the special favours which he recounts in the *Private Thoughts*, is the having "an excellent wife, and four lovely children."

Aware that wealth cannot purchase happiness, and feeling that he could not lay by more than a moderate portion for his family, out of his bishopric, without hurting his conscience, he left for his children's consideration the following memorandum, which was found amongst his papers:—"My children, if I do not live to tell you why I have saved no more for you out of my bishopric, let this satisfy you: that the less you have of goods gathered from the church the better the rest that I leave you will prosper. Church-livings were never designed to make families, or to raise portions out of them, but to maintain our families, to keep up hospitality, to feed the poor, &c. And one day you will be glad that this was my settled opinion: and God grant I may act accordingly! I never expect, and I thank God I never desire, that you or your children should ever be great: but if ever the providence of God should raise any that proceed from my loins to any degree of worldly wealth or honour, I desire they will look back to the place and person from whence they came; this will keep them humble and sober-minded."

How soon is the brightest sky overcast with clouds! Two of his children died in infancy. They were taken away, indeed, from the evil to come, and redeemed by

that Saviour whom they did not live to know upon earth : but still this consideration only mitigates,—it cannot avert—the grief inflicted on a tender parent's heart by such separations. Another child was removed in her fourteenth year. And previously to this latter loss, Mrs. Wilson herself was parted by death from her afflicted husband on the 7th of March, 1705, not seven years after their marriage. On the 5th of the preceding September he had accompanied her to Warrington, for the benefit of her native air, which, it was hoped, would prove of service to her then declining health ; and he continued with her, praying for her and comforting her, till the day when she resigned her soul, full of the hope of a blessed immortality, into the hands of her heavenly Father. Some of his reflections and prayers on this trying occasion will be read with interest, as they throw a light upon the character of both of them.

HIS PRAYER IN HIS WIFE'S SICKNESS.

Whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth.—Heb. xii. 6.

O Lord, infinitely merciful, thy very corrections are the effect of thy love : therefore do thy faithful servants rejoice in the midst of their sorrows, stedfastly believing that all things shall work together for good to those that love God and trust in his mercy.

For thou, O Lord, dost convince us, by the afflictions that Thou bringest upon us, that nothing deserves our love but Thee, that no being in heaven or on earth can help us besides Thee ; and that the sufferings of this life are not to be compared with the happiness of the next.

This is our faith and confidence, that every good gift cometh from above ; and that our sorrow for our offences, our desires of being reconciled unto Thee, our purposes

of amendment, are all the fruits of thy Holy Spirit, which does nothing in vain; and which, if we resist not thy grace, will form our souls for the happiness of a better life.

Gracious God, let it so happen unto this thy servant, visited with thine hand, that she may take her sickness patiently; and, with a perfect submission to thy will, bear whatever Thou shalt be pleased to lay upon her: that the sickness of her body may contribute to the health of her soul; and that, being made perfect through sufferings, she may be owned by her blessed Saviour, who through afflictions entered into glory.

Give her grace that she may know wherein she has offended Thee, that she may truly repent of all the errors of her life past. And do Thou, O merciful God, for the sake of Jesus Christ, accept of her repentance, and be reconciled to her, who has no hope but in thy great mercy, that she may not suffer the pains of sickness without the comforts of grace and the hopes of being beloved by Thee.

Grant, O Lord, that her faith in thy sight may never be reprov'd, but that she may stedfastly believe the great truths of the Gospel, the promise of pardon and grace to penitent sinners, the promise of eternal life to those that die in the true faith and fear of God, that Jesus Christ is the resurrection and the life, that whosoever believeth in Him, though he were dead, yet shall he live. Increase this knowledge and confirm this faith in thy servant, that she may be numbered amongst thy saints in glory everlasting.

Pour into her heart such love towards Thee, that she may love Thee above all things, obey thy commands, and submit to thy wise dispensations; that she may for thy sake love all mankind, forgive all that have injured her,

and desire to be forgiven of all those whom she may have offended in thought, word, or deed.

Thy loving kindness, O Lord, is better than life itself. O, satisfy her with thy mercy, that she may with a willing mind give up that breath which she received from Thee; that, when she shall depart this life, she may rest in Jesus Christ; and that, at the general resurrection at the last day, she may be found acceptable in thy sight, and receive that blessing which thy well-beloved Son shall then pronounce to all that love and fear Thee, saying, "Come, ye blessed children of my Father, receive the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world."

Grant this, we beseech Thee, O heavenly Father, through Jesus Christ our Mediator and Redeemer. *Amen, Amen.*

PRAYER ON THE DEATH OF HIS WIFE.

When thou with rebukes dost chasten man for sin, thou makest his beauty to consume away like a moth. Psalm xxxix. 11.

O, merciful God, who in thy wise providence dost so order even natural events, that they serve both for the good of the universe and for the conviction of particular sinners, so that men shall have reason to acknowledge thy glorious attributes, I do with great sorrow of heart, but with all submission to thy good pleasure, confess thy mercy as well as justice to me, in the afflictions and chastisements of this day. I will therefore hold my peace and not open my mouth, because it is thy doing, and my deservings.

O Lord give me, I most humbly beseech Thee of thy great mercy, true repentance for all the errors of my life past, and especially for those which may have been the occasion of this day's sorrows.

God speaketh once, yea twice, yet man perceiveth it not.
Job xxxiii. 14.

I acknowledge thy voice, O merciful God : I acknowledge also my own transgressions, and thy great goodness in afflicting me : I do in all humility accept of the punishment of mine iniquity, and do ascribe it to thy grace that even now I have perceived it to be thy voice.

We are verily guilty concerning our brother. Gen. xlii. 21.

Blessed be God that my punishment is not as great as my crimes, which have deserved thy severest stroke ; for I am verily guilty of many, very many grievous sins ; the follies of youth, the wilful presumptuous sins of my riper years, the breach of the vows that are upon me.

O that thy grace, which has wrought this sense and sorrow in my soul, may perfect the good work until I have obtained thy pardon, and be confirmed in every good word and work, till thou art pleased to call me hence.

Good God of mercy, give me grace that I may never again provoke Thee to repeat this voice ; but that I may faithfully perform the vows that are upon me ; that I may work out my salvation with fear and trembling ; knowing that though the Lord is long-suffering to them that fear him, yet he is a consuming fire to the obstinate and hardened sinner.

For Jesus Christ his sake, who by his merits has purchased pardon and grace for penitent sinners, hear me, answer me, and let thy merciful kindness be my comfort according to thy word unto thy servant. *Amen.*

MEDITATIONS.

By the sadness of the countenance, the heart is made better.
Eccles. vii. 3.

How good is God, when by his very displeasure we are gainers ! He is pleased to exercise me with the loss of

my dear wife, an excellent woman, in the very bloom of her years, in the very midst of our satisfactions; and yet upon a just account I have no reason to complain or to fret against God, since I have a comfortable assurance, through the merits of Christ, that she is at rest, and secure under the custody of the blessed angels until the great day of recompense. And for myself, though I want hers, yet I do not want the comfort of God's Holy Spirit, whose influence I feel in the cheerful submission of my will to the will of God, in the sorrow for my offences which this affliction has wrought in me, in purposes of amendment, and in an earnest desire of living so circumspectly in this world, that in the next we may meet in joy in the bosom of Jesus, when we shall never part, never sorrow more. Even so, blessed Jesus, so let it be!

But though I find my passions, under this affliction, much subdued, my heart tender and capable of receiving good impressions, my soul full of holy purposes, my breast warmed with charity and a tender love for the whole creation of God; yet I know that the heart is deceitful above all things; and therefore lest these good effects should soon be forgotten, let me set down a few memorandums of what now passes within my breast.

Let me often remember, that when I saw that death had closed my dearest consort's eyes, and that there was no more to be done for her eternal welfare, how many sad thoughts possessed my heart.

I then with an angry sorrow reflected,—How many opportunities have I lost of doing my duty and promoting her happiness, (for sure there are degrees of bliss,) which, had I conscientiously performed, would now have been matter of solid comfort to me! For though, by the mercy of God in Jesus Christ, which is not confined to our imperfect endeavours and assistance, my dear wife

is, I doubt not, in peace ; having, according to the allowances made by a merciful God to human frailty, led a pious, unblameable, useful life, yet I cannot but condemn myself for having neglected many things which would have been exceeding comfortable to her when alive, and to me now she is dead ; which the gracious God forgive me !

She needs not my sorrow now, nor my assistance ; but since I am still in the body, and still subject to failings, let this consideration make me wiser for the time to come, for this will sooner or later be my own case : I must come to die ; and all my duties of my calling and of christianity, that I am convinced I have left undone, will then be matter of sad reflection ; I shall then wish, but in vain, that the time were to be spent again that I have lost ; but time will be no more ; only sorrow will be my portion.

I will therefore, by God's grace, do that duty in its season which He has appointed me ; and whatever my hand findeth to do I will do it with all my might, for the night cometh when no man can work ; and if that night take me unawares, under what terrible concern shall I be then, under what doom shall I be afterwards !

Grant, O God, that, having these thoughts much in my heart, I may not despise the day of grace, but that I may, whenever my Lord comes, be ready to give up my account with joy.

It is with me now as it was with the sons of Jacob, when they were in affliction : *We are verily guilty concerning our brother.* The many and great offences of my life appear before me in all their circumstances truly terrible : and though by the good grace of God (for which I am truly thankful), and through the merits of Jesus Christ, who is our advocate and the propitiation for the sins of all true penitents, I have confessed and

forsaken those sins, yet the remembrance of them is truly grievous unto me.

O that I may, from this consideration, stedfastly resolve to leave no sin unrepented of till the days of sorrow and sickness come upon me; that I may not for the time to come do anything which may be an occasion of sad affliction to me at the hour of death. But in the hour of death and in the day of judgment let this be my support and comfort, that I have repented of all the errors of my life, and that I have brought forth fruits meet for repentance. Grant this, for Jesus Christ his sake, O gracious God. *Amen.*

Thomas, the only remaining child of bishop Wilson, who lived to a good old age, and survived his father, was born in 1703. He received his early education from his father, was afterwards sent to a school in Yorkshire, and entered college as a commoner of Christ-Church, Oxford, in the year 1721. His father's reputation disposed many persons of distinction to look kindly upon him. In 1738, he was presented by the lord chancellor to the living of St. Stephen, Walbrook, and was afterwards made chaplain and sub-almoner to king George the second, and prebendary of Westminster. A tablet in the chancel of St. Stephen's church records that he died on the 15th of April 1784, aged 80 years.

When his son was promoted to the stall in Westminster abbey, the bishop wrote a grateful letter to the king, enclosed in another to his son, from which the following is a characteristic extract :—

..... "I am both surprised and pleased with the unexpected favours conferred upon you, both by the king and the bishop of Salisbury. I hope in God you will answer the great ends of his providence in raising

you such friends, and in putting into your hands such unlooked-for talents, in order to improve them to his glory and your ~~own~~ salvation. For my own part, I have ever received such favours with fear, lest I should be tempted to dishonour God by his own gifts; and it shall be my daily prayer for you, that you may never do so. This was the case of the wisest and greatest of men, whose history and fall was part of this day's service of the church. [1 Kings, x, xi.]

"Enclosed you have a letter to his majesty. Perhaps you may not approve of the style *his*, instead of *your* majesty, but I know it to be more becoming, and will be better accepted by a foreigner, and therefore it shall so pass.

"I have also written to the bishop of Salisbury, to whom my most grateful service and thanks [are due]. According to my notion of writing to his majesty, I ought not to have subscribed my name; but I have done it lest you should have thought otherwise."

The letter to the king was as follows;—

"May it please the king's most sacred majesty! to receive the most grateful acknowledgments of the antient bishop of Man, for his majesty's great condescension, and late royal favour, to the son of a bishop, whose obscure diocese and remote situation might justly have forbade him all expectations of so high a nature from a royal hand. May both the father and the son ever act worthy of so distinguished a favour! And may the King of kings bless his majesty with all the graces and virtues which are necessary for his high station, and for his eternal happiness,—enable his majesty to overcome all the difficulties he shall meet with abroad,*—and bring him back to his kingdoms here in peace and safety, and

* The king was then at Hanover.

finally to an everlasting kingdom hereafter,—which has been and shall be the sincere and constant prayer of his majesty's most grateful, dutiful, and faithful subject and servant,

THO. SODOR AND MAN."

"*Isle of Man*, May 3, 1743."

In proceeding to repeat the few particulars which have been transmitted to us, relative to the even tenour of bishop Wilson's daily life, we cannot but express our regret that the simple manners and devotional habits witnessed in his household are so seldom seen in our own days. Before the family entered upon the various occupations of the day, that is at six o'clock every summer morning, and at seven in the winter, the whole household including the workmen and domestic servants, assembled in the chapel, and prayer was offered up by himself, or by one of those students who resided with him preparatory to holy orders. In the evening they met again for supplication and thanksgiving.

The bishop was deeply impressed with the necessity and usefulness of family worship. "Have you set up an altar in your house?" was a question which he was wont to ask, when an opportunity occurred, in conversation with his friends and his flock. And publicly he took opportunities of recommending family religion as a wholesome preservative against degeneracy and profligacy; asking, "How should we expect that all sorts of vices should not abound in families where God is not owned nor his graces asked for?" And he declared his belief, that if those who could not read would but assemble their children and servants, and offer up the Lord's Prayer, "it would plant the fear of God in their hearts; and they would be afraid of doing many things which they commit without any concern."

The day then passed in works of piety and usefulness,

till the hour of dinner arrived, at which time he was as remarkable for exercising hospitality towards his clergy and others, as he was at all times for his liberality towards indigent persons. His table was abundantly but plainly furnished; it could not be better described than in the words of George Herbert:—"His fare is plain and common, but wholesome: what he hath is little, but very good; it consisteth most of mutton, beef, and veal; if he adds anything for a great day, or a stranger, his garden or orchard supplies it, or his barn and farm-yard: he goes no further for any entertainment, lest he go into the world, esteeming it absurd that he should exceed, who teacheth others temperance. But those which his home produceth he refuseth not, as coming cheap and easy, and arising from the improvement of things which otherwise would be lost. Wherein he admires and imitates the wonderful providence and thrift of the great Householder of the world." These were precisely the sentiments of bishop Wilson, and it is very likely that he was led to these views by this very passage, in a book which he admired and valued. He himself describes hospitality as not consisting "in making great entertainments, but in providing a sober and suitable refreshment for such as are in want, and for such as come to visit us."

Many persons of note, whom his fame had reached, desired to enjoy his conversation, amongst whom Dr. Pococke, after his return from his travels, went to see the aged bishop of Man in the year 1750, and sent him his works richly bound, to announce his arrival. The bishop received him with a graceful welcome, but told him that "he ought not to approach the poor bishop of Man with a present, as if he were an eastern prince."

His temper was composed and calm, and he was never excited to violent or unguarded language. In conver-

sation he was remarkably cheerful and entertaining ; he lived in a perpetual sunshine of happy spirits. He found, as Herbert says, " that pleasantness of disposition is a key to do good ; not only because all men shun the company of perpetual severity, but also for that when they are in company, instructions seasoned with pleasantness both enter sooner and root deeper."

Mr. Moore, one of the clergymen of the island, who knew him well, describes him as being " of admirable simplicity of manners ; of a most engaging behaviour, affability, and sweetness of temper. In his private conversation he was agreeable and entertaining ; lively and facetious without levity ; and always consistent with the dignity of his character ; never at a loss for something pertinent and proper to embellish and illustrate his discourse ; on these occasions nothing ever proceeded from his mouth but what was good to the use of edifying, and ministered not only grace but also pleasure and delight to the hearers." Mr. Corlet, another of his clergy, writes,* that he recognizes in the devotional works of bishop Wilson the frequent remarks of his daily conversation. " Often, and often again, did I recollect, as I read, that I had heard from his own lips the very sentiments then before me, and the heavenly smile wherewith he delivered them. But perhaps I tire you ; better judges than I have said, and will yet say, more to the purpose, but not one, unless yourself, from a warmer heart, recollecting the blessed man as I saw and heard him."

* Letter to the Rev. P. Moore, dated April 18, 1781, twenty-six years after the bishop's death.

CHAPTER IV.

HIS SUNDAY.

Simple, grave, sincere ;
In doctrine uncorrupt, in language plain ;
And plain in manner ; decent, solemn, chaste,
And natural in gesture ; much impressed
Himself, as conscious of his awful charge,
And anxious mainly that the flock he feeds
May feel it too ; affectionate in look
And tender in address, as well becomes
A messenger of grace to guilty man :
Behold the picture !—COWPER's *Task*.

His thoughts are full of making the best of the day, and contriving it to his best gains.—HERBERT's *Country Parson*.

BISHOP WILSON cultivated the society of his clergy, and endeavoured to make them feel that the sincere servant of Christ would always find in him a real and affectionate friend. So greatly was he averse to any appearance of the pride of station, that in the ordinary intercourse of life it would have been difficult to discover from his demeanour that his office was invested with any authority or worldly dignity ; 'indeed he always wished his clergy to feel that the chief bond of union consisted in their being embarked in the same sacred cause, as stewards of the mysteries of God ; and his first thoughts and anxieties were ever directed to the quickening of their zeal, and increasing their efficiency in the work they had to do. Amongst other plans which he pursued to this end, was a frequent participation in their labours. He felt that although he had not the express charge of any particular congregation, yet that he was nevertheless obliged, as a minister of Christ, still to watch for the souls of men as one that must give account, and that he might devote

himself the more to that work, because the see, (comprising only the seventeen parishes into which the island is divided,) required a comparatively small portion of his time for the discharge of the episcopal functions. Hence it came to pass, that during the fifty-eight years of his pastoral life he rarely failed on a Sunday to preach the gospel, catechise and expound, or administer the communion, in some one of the churches of his diocese. Being an excellent horseman, he set out when the family devotions of the morning and the early meal were ended, and without having given any previous notices, arrived a little before service at the place where he intended to officiate. Thus he had the best opportunities of judging whether all things were done decently and in order, as well as of using his personal exertions to promote the glory of God and the salvation of souls. Often, while the sabbath-bell was calling the poor people together to worship God in the unornamented but not unsanctified structures dedicated to his Holy Name, they descried the welcome and well-known form of their good bishop emerging from the defiles which intersected their bold and rugged mountains, and hastening to offer up with them his humble praises and prayers to God.

In the exercise of this ministry, never preacher appears to have had less regard for human praise, or a more earnest desire to make the people wise unto salvation. One of his prayers was this:—"May I, O Sovereign Pastor, always so speak, as that my flock may hear and understand me; so converse with them, as that I may know *them*; and lead such a life as that *they* may safely follow me." And the same desire is repeated in various forms of expression throughout his book of private devotions. Before his sermons he was accustomed to use the following devout form of supplication;—

“Almighty God, maker of all things, judge of all men, graciously receive the supplications and prayers of this congregation, for themselves and for all estates and conditions of men.

“Lord, in mercy grant unto us, and unto all sinners, a true sense of our errors, and grace to amend whatever we have done amiss, that iniquity may not be our ruin. Let not those judgments fall upon us which our sins have justly deserved; and grant that thy great-mercy and forbearance may oblige us to bring forth fruits meet for repentance.

“Have mercy upon the work of thy hands, that all the world may come to the knowledge of Thee, and of thy goodness in Jesus Christ; that all who are weary with the burthen of their sins, may know where to find rest unto their souls.

“Preserve thy church in the midst of this uncertain world, and prepare her for what thy providence shall bring forth; that neither prosperity may corrupt thy faithful servants, nor adversity discourage them from professing the truth.

“Keep this church and nation in the peaceable enjoyment of thy word and sacraments; and grant that we may live answerable to the means of grace which thy providence hath afforded us.

“Bless all the reformed churches; keep them from all wicked and dangerous errors; and bring into the way of truth all such as have gone astray; that thy kingdom, and the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, may be glorified.

“O God! whose kingdom ruleth over all, bless these nations to which we belong; that peace, and truth, and justice—that true religion and piety, may be secured and countenanced; that all ignorance and profaneness, and whatever else opposeth thy Divine will made known to us, may be effectually discharged. To this end we pray

God to hear us, for the king's majesty, that his days may be many, his government happy, his commands just and equal, and his people faithful and obedient:—for the royal family, that we may be blessed with a succession of princes fearing God:—for all such as are in council and authority, (and especially for the high court of parliament,) that they may consult the honour of God, the true interest of his church, and the welfare of the people:—for the bishops and pastors of Christ's flock, that they may constantly speak the truth, boldly rebuke and oppose vice, and be living examples of those graces and virtues which they recommend to others: and the Lord Jesus Christ be always with them according to his promise; and grant unto the people of their flocks that they may profit by them daily.

“Blessed God and lover of souls, preserve, by Thy grace, those that are in the way of life; enlighten the minds of the ignorant; awaken the consciences of the careless; silence the gainsayers; convert the profane; and bring them all to Thine everlasting kingdom.

“We commend unto the tender mercy of God, all sick and dying persons; all that are in affliction of mind or body, or under any pressing calamity; all that are poor, and have none else to help them; and especially all such as suffer persecution for a righteous cause.

“Lord, pity and sanctify the miseries of this life, to the everlasting benefit of all that suffer; that the tears of the oppressed, the pains of the afflicted, the wants of the poor, may all help forward and end in the salvation of their immortal souls.

“We beseech God to hear our prayers for all those that never pray for themselves; that they may see the danger, before it is too late, of living without God in the world.

“And God Almighty grant that we may all of us have

worthy thoughts of His majesty,—for His great power in creating us—for His wonderful providence in preserving us—for His great goodness in redeeming us by Jesus Christ; for whose doctrine and example, and for the examples of all His faithful servants, we pray God make us truly thankful, and grant us grace to follow their steps, that we may with them be made partakers of a blessed resurrection.

“That we may obtain these blessings, and whatever else is needful for us, let us all join, and with one heart and voice pray to God in that perfect form of words which Jesus Christ hath taught us—‘Our Father which art in heaven,’ &c.”

His style, like his mind, was a pattern of simplicity; it was so plain that none could go away from the church asking one another the meaning of what they had heard; and his sentiments were so eminently pure and devout, that the word of God in his mouth was seen to be truth. He studiously adapted his instructions to the wants and attainments of the Mankmen, avoiding in his own preaching, and advising his clergy to avoid, such questions as minister to disputes rather than to godly edifying. And while he thus preached the gospel to the poor, his appeals derived no small degree of force and efficacy from an affectionate and animated delivery, and a life which exemplified what he taught. In the beautiful and valuable sermons which have been bequeathed to posterity, he instructs, exhorts, expostulates, entreats, and warns his hearers, in a manner that can hardly fail to search and prove the heart; and it will be found that the leading topics of his discourses were the same which he recommended to other ministers; “the bondage of man by sin,—the necessity of a deliverer,—the manner of our redemption,—the danger of not closing with it,—the

power of grace to deliver us.”—And blessed are they whose purity of doctrine and holiness of life are liable to as few exceptions as his, and who labour as earnestly and diligently in the cause of their Master and Saviour. On them the second death hath no power.

His biographers do not say that he ever preached in the Manks language, but they inform us that he early applied himself to the study of it, and that he was able to converse with the natives in their own tongue.

As the bishop was zealous in promoting the religious education of the poor, so he was strongly impressed with the idea that the most important encroachments might be made upon the kingdom of darkness by the constant practice of catechising young persons; and he established it as the general usage in the churches, after prayers in the afternoon, instead of a sermon. He considered it “of more use to the souls both of the learned and ignorant, than the very best sermon from the pulpit;” and once, being applied to for permission to substitute a sermon, he on these grounds refused to grant it. In a charge delivered in his eighty-fifth year, he states his opinion, that “this is a truth not to be questioned, that the plainest sermon from the pulpit will not be understood by nor profit any who has not been well instructed in the principles of christianity contained in the Church Catechism; so that our preaching is in vain to all such,—which I fear is often the case of a great part of our hearers.”

“The most unlearned know by nature the things contained in the law as soon as they hear it read: but these are the things which they want to be particularly and often made sensible of; namely, the extreme danger a sinner is in while he is under the displeasure of a holy and just God, who can destroy both body and soul in hell:—how a sinner, made sensible and awakened with

the danger he is in, may be restored to God's favour ;— of the blessing and comfort of a Redeemer ;—what that blessed Redeemer has done and suffered to restore us to the favour of God ;—what means of grace he has appointed as absolutely necessary to preserve us in the favour of God and in the way of salvation.

“ Christians too often want to be set right, and very particularly to be instructed, in the nature of *repentance*, of that repentance to which God has promised mercy and pardon, and of *faith* which is saving, and accompanied with good works and an holy and christian life.

“ These are *foundation principles*, and such as every pastor of souls is obliged to explain, as he hopes ever to do good by his other labours and sermons.

“ We say to *explain*, not only in set discourses from the pulpit, but in a plain familiar manner from the desk, where questions may be asked, and things explained, so as both old and young may be edified.

“ Preaching will always be our duty, but of little use to those who understand not the meaning of the words we make use of in our sermons, as, God knows too many must be supposed not to do, for want of their being instructed in their younger years.”

The public ministrations of the day being over,— prayer, preaching, catechising,—how shall we describe the good bishop's departure from amongst the village congregation better than in the words of Goldsmith—

The service past, around the pious man
With steady zeal the honest rustics ran ;
Ev'n children follow'd with an endearing wile,
And pluck'd his gown to share the good man's smile ;
His ready smile a parent's warmth express'd,
Their welfare pleased him, and their cares distress'd ;
To them his heart, his love, his griefs were given,
But all his serious thoughts had rest in heaven !—*Desert. Vill.*

CHAPTER V.

IN HIS CLOSET.

O ! happy hours of heavenward thought !
How richly crown'd ! how well improved !
In musing o'er the law he taught,
In waiting for the Lord he loved !—*Christian Year.*

TRUE religion, while it leads us to reverence the outward observances of christianity, and teaches us to reverence them as appointed sources of edification, persuades us also of the necessity of the more secret exercises of devotion, and thereby kindles the light which shines in the world. And so bishop Wilson felt ; he looked upon communion with God and his own heart in his chamber, as indispensable means, under God's blessing, of sanctifying the soul which desires to be happy in heaven, and of forming an approved and successful minister of Jesus Christ. He repeated with much satisfaction the saying attributed by Dr. Lightfoot to some learned man, that " he got more knowledge by his prayers than by all his studies ;" and has recorded it as his own opinion, that " a man may have the skill to give christian truths a turn agreeable to the hearers, without affecting their hearts. Human learning will enable him to do this. It is prayer only that can enable him so to speak as to convert the heart."

It is no small privilege to be admitted into the closet of such a person, and to be present at the devotional exercises of one whose life bears evidence that he continually resorted to this fountain for refreshment. Every purpose of his heart, every event which occurred, brought him to the throne of grace. His writings, many of

them as we believe never intended, and certainly not written, for the public eye, show that on all occasions, whether he received blessings or endured afflictions, he hastened to communion with his God, as a child to his affectionate parent. When the bounty of God was enlarged towards him, he seemed overwhelmed with a sense of his unworthiness of such favours, and the guilt he should incur by ungrateful conduct; when sorrow came, he confessed that mercy directed the chastening of the Lord, and looked back to discover the purposes of the Almighty in correcting him; he searched his heart, and prayed for that grace without which, as he says, "neither reason nor religion, neither the fear of death, nor the terror of damnation will restrain us from sin," and then he set himself to press forward more sedulously in his preparation for that world where there is no sorrow. Like the Psalmist, he could say, "Whom have I in heaven but Thee? and there is none upon earth that I desire beside Thee! My flesh and my heart faileth, but God is the strength of my heart, and my portion for ever!"

In his private meditations he studiously turned spiritual things to some practical account, always making such personal application of Scripture as might conduce most to his growth in grace, and taking it as a lamp to his feet and a light to his paths, in his daily walk through life.

His well-known and heavenly book of private meditations, devotions, and prayers, entitled *Sacra Privata*, is divided into fourteen daily portions, and presents to us, in great part, the subjects of his thoughts and petitions during that portion of each day of his life, in which he "entered into his closet and shut to the door," and conversed with his Father who "seeth in secret." And none can follow his footsteps into that retirement, and muse

upon the holy things upon which he employed his own heart and mind, without being in some degree warmed with a kindred fervour, and feeling the truth of his remark that "frequent prayer, as it is an exercise of holy thoughts, is a most natural remedy against the power of sin." It is a holy and beautiful book, and often has it soothed the anguish of a spirit tried by bodily suffering, often has it aided and enlivened the devotions of the dying christian, and caused him to forget for a while the sorrows of this present life. The good bishop, though dead, still speaketh ; his voice is still heard in accents of counsel and of comfort ; he humbles the readers to the dust with a sense of sin, makes them feel their need of a Saviour, and gladdens them with the tidings that God has amply provided for that need ; then he leads them on from strength to strength, renewing their humble confidence in Christ, and giving fresh fervour to their prayers for such a measure of God's grace as may prepare them for the glorious company of the redeemed, by changing them into the image of Christ.

It is frequently the business of a biographer to gather, from various and distant quarters, the remarks and fragments of the conversations of the wise and good. In the little book of which we are now speaking, the golden sayings of bishop Wilson are written with his own hand ; and perhaps, after all, those pages contain his best biography, since, in placing him before us as a christian man and christian minister, they do but repeat those very remarks and opinions which one of his clergy declared that he had often heard from his own lips, in the ordinary intercourse of life.

The following heads of self-examination may give us some idea of his occupation in his secret chamber. They are suggested by the words in the Acts (vi. 4), *We will*

give ourselves over continually to prayer, to the ministry of the word.

“Have I done so this day? Have I been mindful of the duties of my proper calling? Do I make it the great concern of my life to promote the eternal interests of my flock? Have I read the Holy Scriptures, in order to instruct my people and to preserve them from error? Do I call upon God for the true understanding of the Holy Scriptures? Do I deny all upgodliness and worldly lusts, so as to be an example unto others? Have I endeavoured to keep up the discipline of this Church by correcting the criminous? Have I an eye to such as are in Holy Orders, and to such as are designed for the ministry? Have I been charitable and kind to poor and needy people? Do I make the Gospel the rule of my private life, and Jesus Christ my pattern? Do I endeavour after holiness? Do I live as in God’s presence? Is my conversation unblameable? Do I give the praise of this to God through Jesus Christ?”

The honesty and strictness with which he prosecuted these enquiries and searched out his spirit, are manifest from the subjoined memorandum made so early as the year 1699, which gives a correct idea of the frequent employment of his solitary hours:—“Upon a serious review of my time past, I find that I have been too negligent of the duties of my calling; I do therefore resolve solemnly, (being heartily sorry for what is past,) that for the time to come I will rectify (by the grace of God) my ways in these following instances:—

“1st. More diligently follow my studies. 2ndly. Immediately regulate my devotions, and attend them constantly. 3rdly. Preach more constantly than I have done. 4thly. Compose prayers for the poor families in order to have them printed. 5thly. Endeavour with all

my might to draw my heart from the things of the world.

“ And that I may not forget these purposes, I resolve that this memorandum shall remain as a record against me, until I have thoroughly amended in these particulars. The God of Heaven give me grace to set about the work immediately, and give me strength to finish it ! Amen, Amen.”

Bishop Wilson was so fully persuaded that no undertaking could prosper without the help of God, that it was his custom to commence his studies with prayer for the divine blessing, after the following manner.

BEFORE STUDY.

“ O God, the fountain of all wisdom ! in a deep sense of my own ignorance, and of the great charge which lies upon me, I am constrained to come often before Thee, from whom I have learned whatever I know, to ask that help without which I shall disquiet myself in vain. Most humbly beseeching Thee to guide me with thine eye, and enlighten my mind, that I may see myself, and teach others, the wonders of thy law ; that I may learn from Thee what I ought to think and speak concerning Thee. Direct and bless all the labours of my mind ; give me a discerning spirit, a sound judgment, and an honest and religious heart ; and grant that in all my studies, my *first* aim may be to set forth thy glory, and to set forward the salvation of mankind ; that I may give a comfortable account of my time at the great day when all our labours shall be tried.

“ And if Thou art pleased that by my ministry sinners shall be converted, and thy kingdom enlarged, give me the grace of humility, that I may never ascribe the success to myself, but to thy Holy Spirit, which enables me to will and to do according to thy good pleasure. Grant

this, O Father of all light and truth, for the sake of Jesus Christ."

His writings were principally designed for the spiritual benefit of the islanders. One work, published in 1699, in Manks and English, and entitled *The Principles and Duties of Christianity*, was the first book ever printed in their native tongue. It is noticed in the Diary of Mr. Thoresby, the topographer of Leeds, who says that he received a copy from the "pious author," and speaks of it, not only as "a curiosity, being the first book that was ever printed in the Manks language," but also as "an excellent practical treatise in the English part of it." The same book was afterwards altered and enlarged, and published in 1740 under the title of *The Knowledge and Practice of Christianity made easy to the meanest Capacities; or an Essay towards an Instruction for the Indians; which will likewise be of use to all such who are called Christians, but have not well considered the Meaning of the Religion they profess; or who profess to know God, but in works deny him. In twenty dialogues*. Speaking of this work in a letter to his son, he modestly observes,—"I have the poorest opinion of my own abilities, and I can approve of little that I have done on this head; but since it is gone so far, there is no drawing back." His *Commentary upon the Holy Bible*, and several other publications, were designed to explain the Scriptures to unlearned people, to enforce their duties, to assist their devotions, and to make them wise unto salvation. His *Short Introduction to the Lord's Supper* is one of the most simple expositions of the nature and benefits of that ordinance, and is still deservedly popular.

For the fishermen of the island, who in the exercise of their calling were exposed to great perils, he provided a suitable *Form of Prayer*, to be used on the occasion described in the following extract from his *History of the*

Isle of Man. "Formerly," he says, "herrings were the great staple commodity of this Isle, of which, (within the memory of some now living,) near twenty thousand barrels have been exported in one year to France and other places. The time of herring-fishing is between July and All-hallows' tide. The whole fleet of boats, (every boat being about the burthen of two tons) are under the government of the water-bailiff on the shore, and under one called a vice-admiral at sea, who, by the signal of a flag, directs them when to shoot their nets, &c. . . . In acknowledgment of this great blessing, and that God may be prevailed with to continue it, (this being the support of the place,) the whole fleet duly attends divine service on the shore, at the several ports, every evening before they go to sea; the respective incumbents on that occasion making use of a form of prayer, lessons, &c. lately composed for that purpose." This pious practice is still continued.

Further evidence of his watchful care of the people may be found in his endeavours to promote piety and diligence amongst their spiritual pastors. Hence the valuable treatise called *Parochialia, or Instructions for the Clergy*, and other little works addressed to candidates for the ministry, from one of which the following passage is selected, as giving an important hint to those who desire to profit by reading the word of God. "There are two things which I do most earnestly recommend to you, as you hope to benefit yourself or others by reading the Holy Scriptures. The *first*, that you always implore the assistance of the Spirit by which they were written, for the true understanding of them; and the *second*, that you apply every Scripture as spoken to yourself. For instance say to yourself, — This is the very word of God;—this is *his* command to *me*, it is what he requires

of me;—this, by the grace of God I will observe. Do I live like one who believes this truth? Do I act according to this rule?”

“Give me credit,” he proceeds, “by this plain and easy method, of considering every truth as concerning yourself, your graces will increase with your knowledge; you will become every day more humble, more devout, more patient, &c. You will avoid the vices and the snares there set down, and dread the consequence of falling into them. In one word, you will come to such a knowledge of divine truths, as that you will know your own duty perfectly; and in God’s good time be able to teach others.”—*Instructions for an Academic Youth.*

His publications were highly commended by eminent men in England; and his son sent to him several letters in which they were spoken of in terms of warm admiration. The feelings awakened in his mind are expressed in the following reply:—“I am not elated with the letters you enclosed me; if any good is likely to be done, far be it from me to take the praise to myself, let it be ascribed to the good Spirit of God; and let me take the shame to myself for the many faults I plainly see in it, and for the negligence with which it is performed. May God forgive me these, and pardon the things I have been wanting in, and the good I might have done in the way of my duty, in a long, long life, and in my proper calling, and I shall bless his name for ever!”

This chapter may appropriately conclude with an extract from a letter written by the celebrated Dr. Samuel Johnson to the son of this admirable prelate:—“To think on bishop Wilson with veneration is only to agree with the whole christian world. I hope to look into his books with other purposes than those of criticism, and, after their perusal, not only to write but to live better.”

CHAPTER VI.

HIS BENEFICENCE.

Unskilful he to fawn, or seek for pow'r,
 By doctrines fashion'd to the varying hour :
 Far other aims his heart had learn'd to prize,
 More bent to raise the wretched than to rise.
 His home was known to all the vagrant train,
 He chid their wandering, but relieved their pain.

* * * * *
 But in his duty prompt, at every call
 He watch'd and wept, he prayed and felt for all :
 And, as a bird each fond endearment tries
 To tempt its new-fledged offspring to the skies,
 He tried each art, reproved each dull delay.

Allured to brighter worlds, and led the way.—*Deserted Village.*

THE small revenues of the bishopric of Man amounted in the time of bishop Wilson to no more than three hundred pounds a-year, and he found that the lands annexed to it were nothing better than tracts of pasturage for sheep. It soon occurred to him to turn these lands to more profitable account by husbandry, and by skilful management he soon made them produce more than was required to supply his house ; a portion of the residue was bartered for other commodities which his farms did not furnish ; and what remained was devoted to charitable purposes. Thus it happened that he was able to employ considerable sums in promoting the glory of God and the good of man.

He wished to act in accordance with the sentiment which was thus expressed (we believe) by bishop Fleetwood, "Let us proportion our alms to our incomes, lest God should proportion our incomes to our alms."

In the spirit of this maxim he always appointed a cer-

tain portion of his income for pious uses, and at various intervals we find him increasing the sum thus appropriated. The following is one of his memoranda of this kind.

“Bishop’s Court, Feb. 18, 1718.

“To the glory of God; I find by constant experience that God will be no man’s debtor. I find that I have enough and to spare; so that for the future I dedicate four tenths to pious uses, one tenth of the demesnes and customs which I receive in monies, and of my English estate as above. And the good Lord accept his poor servant in this service, for Christ’s sake. Amen.”

His charity to the poor was so enlarged that the destitute never came to his door in vain. Being told that unworthy persons were often the objects of his bounty, he replied, “I would rather give to ten unworthy, than that one deserving object should go away without relief.” Mr. Moore says in the sermon preached at the bishop’s funeral, “His charity and beneficence to the poor and needy shine the brightest and most distinguished of all his other numerous virtues and graces. Feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, comforting the afflicted, administering to the distresses of all, the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow—these acts of humanity and christian charity were the joy, the delight, the great employment and pleasure, of his soul. And to this it was owing, that during his episcopate, no country in the christian world had fewer public beggars to be seen therein; for he kept the poor from almost every body’s doors but his own.”

In order to supply the poor with clothing, he kept tailors and shoemakers in constant employment at his own house. And as his pecuniary means were small, he commonly procured the materials for that purpose by bartering the produce of his farm. It is related that one day, giving

orders to his tailor to make for him a cloak, he desired that it might be quite plain, and have merely a button and loop, to keep it together. "But, my lord," said the tailor, "what would become of the poor button-makers and their families if every one thought in that way? they would be starved outright." "Do you say so, John?" replied the bishop, "why then button it all over, John."

Some occasions of a most trying nature occurred to draw forth all the energies, as well as to awaken the most tender feelings, of this generous mind. A small duty was paid by all vessels putting into the ports of the island, and, as the contraband trade increased, a portion of this was employed in rendering the harbours more convenient and secure. Thus many hands were drawn away from agricultural labour to carry on these works, and many more were employed about the shipping in various capacities. The neglect of the land was a necessary consequence; the consumption of corn became greater than the produce; and the Manksmen were dependent upon England for the supply of their wants. Hence in dear or scarce years they were in the greatest distress, and sometimes even experienced the miseries of famine.

Such was the wretched condition of the people in the year 1740. Their crops, never sufficient, were in the preceding harvest remarkably light. The bishop writes to his son (July 15, 1739)—"The severest drought that I ever knew. A great deal of corn will never be mowed or reaped; and the poor farmers, not being able to dispose of their cattle, will many of them be ruined, I fear." England had equally suffered by this unpropitious weather. The dearth produced high prices, and an embargo was laid upon the exportation of corn. It was a wretched winter to the poor people of the island, and the bishop's heart was with them in their misery. He distributed all

his own corn, he then purchased to the full extent of his means, and sold it out at a low rate in small proportions, so as to economise to the utmost. In February 1740, he writes again,—“ Never was such a scarcity of corn! A ship laden with barley was put in by bad weather. I would have bought fifty pounds' worth, but it could not be sold, the master having given large bonds to land it at Whitehaven, but he was cast away going thither. What this poor place will do, God only knows. I shall give as long as I have any; and money, if any be to be bought.”

Disease is generally the companion of famine, and it visited the island with much severity on this occasion. The bishop, who had acquired some knowledge of physic at the University, and had exercised it for the relief of his poor neighbours all his life long, now attended the sick and prescribed for them. They had fresh proofs of the goodness of God in sending a man of such an excellent spirit to dwell amongst them.

In their greatest extremity, when the corn of the island was nearly exhausted, the inhabitants despatched a letter to the duke of Athol, (who had succeeded to the lordship of the isle, by the death of the earl of Derby,) and to Dr. Wilson, in London, representing their appalling situation, and beseeching them to use their earnest endeavours and their interest to effect the removal of the embargo which withheld from them the very means of existence.

The application was made, but without success, and as the case admitted of no delay, the duke and Dr. Wilson immediately contracted for two ship-loads of corn from Holland. Meanwhile a small vessel, laden with Welsh oats and bound to Dumfries, was driven into the harbour of Douglas by a contrary wind, where the cargo sustained considerable injury; and the people of the town, urged by

famine, and knowing that the means of relief were actually perishing before their faces, boarded the vessel, and took possession of its contents without resistance. The action, though riotous, was conducted with good order, for they measured out the corn with great exactness, stored it in the school-house, and compelled the churchwardens to take the care and custody of it, and to sell it out at prime cost, reserving the money for the proprietor of the cargo.

Thus a temporary relief was afforded, at least for that part of the island, until the ships arrived from Holland just time enough to save the inhabitants from starving. Further supplies were afterwards obtained, by the embargo being removed for a certain time and to a certain quantity, in consequence of another pressing appeal to the King from Dr. Wilson, in which he says, "Your petitioner's father, and the inhabitants of that place, labour under the inexpressible want of provisions, especially bread-corn; so that, if not speedily relieved, many thousands are in imminent danger of being starved; and what adds to their melancholy circumstances is, that it has pleased God to afflict them with a pestilential flux, owing in a great measure to the want of wholesome food."

The supply now sent saved the whole people from destruction, yet still the poor would have been very scantily provided but for the help of their good bishop. He writes thus to his son:—"What I give at home to poor people, I give gratis; having, through God's blessing, about one hundred and fifty Winchester bushels to spare. But my method in the four towns has been to buy it at the market-price, (which is high enough indeed,) and to order it to be sold, but only to poor people, and not above two pecks to any one body."

In another letter it is stated, "I have given this year

about five hundred bushels of barley, which have been the support of very many families, as well as private persons, which otherwise must have perished, I verily believe."

The year 1745 was another time of great want and suffering amongst the poor. The circumstances of their distress, and the bishop's help in their time of need, are sufficiently shown in the following extracts from his letters to his son.

"June 14, 1745. Our harvest last year was so difficult to be saved, that it has reduced us to as great straits as we were in four years ago, only we have the liberty of having corn from England and Wales brought to us, but at an excessive price; and, which is still worse, there is amongst the people very little monies to be had to purchase it. I have already given most of my own stock of all sorts of grain, and I believe I shall be obliged to lay out twenty or thirty pounds more before August. Ten pounds worth of barley Mr. Murray has promised me this week, which is coming from Wales, and I hope for as much more. It is generally sold for twenty-four shillings our boll: but before this came in, some of our wicked farmers sold it for upwards of thirty; or five or six shillings a Winchester bushel.

"We have also had a very great loss of black cattle and sheep through the whole country, occasioned by the badness of the fodder, and the cold and wet season, having had scarce three days together without rain or snow since September last. In short, I can foresee nothing but distress of one kind or other."

"July 15, 1745. A most sad dear year, even as hard with the poor as 1741; for though there is corn enough, (at a very dear rate,) yet the people have no monies. We are perfectly drained. I have bought already near one hundred bushels, and shall make it up that quantity

before the new corn comes in, besides my own growth. No prospect of a fishery. A fine crop upon the ground, except the mountains and the Curragh."*

But bishop Wilson's charity did not confine itself to the relief of temporal necessities. Besides private exertions in his Master's cause, he contributed towards the general improvement of these unlettered islanders, with a liberality which we can hardly tell how his means supplied. He must often have exceeded the contents of his "poor's box," and must always have administered his little funds with a singular prudence and discretion. He caused parts of the Scriptures† and several good books, to be translated and printed in the Manks language; he took part in founding and supplying parochial libraries; he distributed bibles and testaments; put the schools in his

* The Curragh is a large tract of land running the breadth of the island between Ballaugh and Rainsea. It was formerly a bog, which, being drained, proved one of the richest parts of the island. BISHOP WILSON'S *History of the Isle of Man*.

† A translation of the Scriptures into the Manks language was commenced under the superintendence and at the cost of bishop Wilson. The Gospel of St. Matthew was printed before his death, and the other Evangelists and the Acts were at that time ready for the press. It is related that Bishop Hildesley, Wilson's successor, entered with great interest and zeal upon the completion of this arduous and valuable undertaking, and that he often said, "He only wished to live to see it finished, and then he should be content to die." Through the liberal assistance of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, this great work was completed. On Saturday November 22, 1772, he received the last part of the Bible, and sang, that evening, the song of Simeon (Luke ii. 29), with much feeling, in the presence of his family. On Sunday he addressed his family after evening prayers on the uncertainty of life, next day he was deprived of his senses by a paralytic seizure, and in a week he was no more. Agreeably to his own desire, he was buried by the side of bishop Wilson, wishing to be united in death with a man whose example he had endeavoured to imitate through life.

diocese on such a footing as to render them seminaries of strict morals and sound learning; and built, or assisted in building and endowing, several churches and chapels.

Nor were his clergy omitted from his schemes of benevolence. He used great exertions to recover for them some property which without such assistance they could never have obtained; he increased, as far as he was able, their incomes, repaired their houses, and established a fund for their widows and orphans, contributing to it largely himself. His own account of the clergy, given in the *History of the Isle of Man*, shows that their condition was such as might naturally call into activity the kindness of so benevolent a mind.

"The clergy," he says, "are generally natives; and indeed it cannot well be otherwise, none else being qualified to preach and administer the sacraments in the Manks language; for the English is not understood by two-thirds at least of the island, though there is an English school in every parish; so hard is it to change the language of a whole country.

"The livings are generally small: the two parsonages are, indeed, worth near sixty pounds a-year; but the vicarages, the royal bounty* included, are not worth above twenty-five pounds, with which, notwithstanding, the frugal clergy have maintained themselves and pretty numerous families very decently; of late, indeed, the great resort of strangers has made provisions of all sorts as dear again as formerly."

* This was the sum of 100*l.* per annum granted in the reign of king Charles the second, payable out of the excise for ever, for the better maintenance of poor vicars and schoolmasters, "that, through the poverty of the place, the church might never want fit persons to perform divine offices, and to instruct the people in necessary truths and duties."

When we consider all the benevolent acts of this warm-hearted man, we must acknowledge that he seems to have looked upon the whole population of the island as his family, and to have sought out every opportunity of doing them good. George Herbert, whose well-known book, *The Country Parson*, he always loved and recommended, (and which has been so often quoted in this memoir,) in describing the parson's charity presents a true picture of bishop Wilson. "All his works relish of charity. When he riseth in the morning, he bethinketh himself what good deeds he can do that day, and presently doeth them, counting that day lost in which he hath not exercised his charity. He first considers his own parish," [with the bishop it was his diocese] "and takes care that there be not a beggar or idle person in his parish, but that all be in a competent way of getting their living."

Yet, with all this, the Isle of Man contained not within its borders a more humble mind than his. The language in which he speaks of the charities of his uncle, Dr. Sherlock, expresses what he thought of the good which was done by his own hand. "If he gave alms to the poor, and denied himself many satisfactions which he could easily have purchased, he did not, however, pretend to merit by these exercises of piety, any more than a steward pretends to merit by being faithful, or a sick man by being orderly." And, in an account-book, in which he entered the sums employed from time to time for pious uses, these words were found written:—"A very small page will serve for the number of our good works, when vast volumes will not contain our evil deeds."

CHAPTER VII.

HIS OLD AGE, AND LATTER DAYS.

Adieu most worthy prelate, now released
 From mortal toils! Thou whom indulgent Heav'n
 Lent us so long, (if long in life can be,)
 Who well, attentive, faithfully hast watch'd
 Thy little sea-girt see, contented there
 Still to remain, devoted to thy charge
 Thy care the hungry fed, the naked clothed,
 Reliev'd the friendless orphan in his want,
 And caus'd the widow's heart to sing for joy.
 The ear which heard thee bless'd thee, and the eye
 That saw thee sparkled with all grateful beams.
 Each day, each hour, still properly employ'd,
 Shone with the merit of thy pious deeds.
 Thy task's discharg'd, mature for heav'n, thou 'rt gone,
 Ancient thyself, to the Ancient of all days ;
 There in a moment, glorious meed, thy staff
 Episcopal, and rochet, are exchanged
 For dazzling robes and a triumphal palm !

*Lines on the Death of Bishop Wilson,
 by Dr. Cooper of Chester.*

THE name of bishop Wilson is so little connected with other names or incidents of note, that we have not seen any necessity for adhering to the order of time in this little narrative ; and we rather thought that a distinct sketch of his character in different points of view would convey the most correct idea of what he really was, and secure to him that affection and reverence, to obtain which he only requires to be known. But our memoir, few as its details have been, is now drawing to its close, and we purpose to gather up the fragments which remain relative to that period of his life when he might fairly be

termed an old man ; and these we shall arrange in the order of their occurrence.

Here then we have to contemplate the aged christian bishop, still proceeding in his wonted course of usefulness, and not retiring from the duties of a minister of Christ while health and life were spared to him.

In the year 1735, at the age of seventy-two, he made his last visit to England, and, while in London, he did not omit the opportunity of being presented to king George the second, and his consort, queen Caroline. He came into the drawing-room in his usual simple dress, having a small black cap on the top of his head, with his hair flowing and silvery, and his shoes fastened with leathern thongs instead of buckles. His appearance excited some surprise, and, joined with his well-known piety and virtues, awakened feelings of the deepest veneration. It is related, that as soon as he entered the presence-chamber, the king, stepping out of the circle of his courtiers, and advancing towards the bishop, took him by the hand and said — “ My lord, I beg your prayers.”

The queen was not less impressed with reverence for his character ; she wished to retain him in England, and with that view offered him translation. One day when she was conversing with him, she turned round to her levee and said — “ See here, my lords, is a bishop who does not come for translation ? ” “ No, and please your majesty,” was his remark, “ I will not in my old age leave my wife because she is poor ! ”

Nothing could have been more distressing to bishop Wilson than to observe the growing corruption of manners and principles in that “ little quiet nation,” as he once could term his diocese. He had found it poor, indeed, and unlettered, yet happily free from the crimes with which the annals of most countries are stained ; and

anxiously had he used his best endeavours, by active personal exertions, by stimulating his clergy, by fervent prayer, and by precautionary measures, to preserve it from contamination. But as we have seen, notwithstanding all these exertions, wickedness and impiety established themselves in the soil, and gained continual strength. He lamented this in private and public, and he urged those in authority, as well as the spiritual guides of the people, to stem the torrent of evil which threatened to overwhelm the island. By this disappointment of the hopes he once entertained of building up Zion there as an honour and a praise in the earth, he was reminded that his reward as well as his rest were not to be looked for in this world.

During his absence in London, three unhappy persons had been tried for the crimes of burglary and robbery ; and on his return he found them lying under sentence of death. How must he have mourned over the change since the time when the door of Bishop's-court needed no other fastening, by day or night, than a latch, and that merely to shut out the weather, and not from apprehension of any ruder aggressor.

On this occasion he addressed a circular letter to the clergy of the island, desiring them to pray for the criminals, and to warn their congregations of the wages of sin in this world and the next. And from the pulpit he himself addressed an impressive exhortation to the people, in which, in his own plain and touching manner, he spoke to them as to children, of the danger and the wickedness of such crimes as those which were then about to pay the penalty of death.

At a later period, in the year 1746, he pursued the same course, on the mournful occasion of the condemnation of a murderer. He wrote a circular letter to his

“very dear brethren,” in which he expressed a hope that none of them would omit that seasonable occasion of “speaking from the pulpit, and other ways,” in such a manner as to awaken most lively impressions of the heinousness of that crime, and the great danger of advancing in wickedness from the smallest beginnings to the greatest enormities. “If people,” he said, “will take themselves from under God’s protection by leaving off to pray daily to God; if they fall into a careless and idle way of living, run into loose and wicked company, hear profane people make a mock at sin; — if they fall into a habit of profaning the Lord’s day by idleness, sinful diversions, or neglecting the public worship of God; — these things will certainly grieve the Holy Spirit of God, by which alone we can be kept from the ways of sin and damnation.

“We have here, therefore, a good occasion of admonishing young people, whether men or women, to take care of the beginnings of sin. Nobody is exceeding wicked all at once; the devil is too cunning to startle men with temptations to great and frightful crimes at first; but if he can tempt them to leave off their prayers, to take God’s name in vain, to drink, to swear, to hear filthy discourse, and to speak of the vices of others with pleasure, he will soon tempt them to crimes of a damning nature.”

In 1739 he was engaged in extricating his poor clergy from some difficulties in which they were involved by the death of the earl of Derby. The lordship of the Isle of Man then passed into the hands of the duke of Athol, and certain papers relating to the ecclesiastical revenues were missing, by which a considerable portion of the small incomes of the clergy was endangered. On this occasion, as before, they were ultimately relieved from

their distressing situation by the successful exertions of their amiable bishop.

In his old age, he still continued the practice of riding off on Sunday to take a share of the duties in some distant parish, without regarding the fatigue of travelling on roads which are described as having been perilous even for horsemen in winter, and for carriages at all times. In April 1739, being then in his seventy-sixth year, he writes thus to his son,—“I have been as well as ever I can expect to be at this age; I was obliged last Sunday to preach at Peel [eight miles distant from Bishop’s-court,] ride there and back again on a most stormy day: and yet I thank God, I am not the worse for it.”

In his seventy-ninth and eightieth years he continued to preach occasionally, as appears from his letters to his son; and in the year 1743, we have an account of his state of health from his own pen, in a letter to his son’s wife.

“MY DEAR DAUGHTER,—I have the pleasure of yours of the 8th of the last month. You put too great a value upon the little favours I can show you. My great aim and desire is that my son and you may make one another so easy, as that it may be a means, through the blessing of God, of lengthening your days to a good old age; and that at last we may all meet in the Paradise of God.

“My eyes, I thank God, are much better, though my sight is a little duller than formerly; but that is what I ought to expect at eighty years.

“You have a share in my prayers every day of my life; and if I am so happy as to find favour with God, I have some reason to hope that my prayers afterwards may be accepted at the Throne of Grace, for our happy meeting, through the merits of the Lord Jesus.

“Oct. 11, 1743.

THO. SODOR AND MAN.”

Even so late as the year 1749, when he was in his 86th year, he had not discontinued taking horse exercise. "I have at last got a horse," he says, "and now, and then ride into the fields." *Letter, October 11, 1749.*

In his 90th year he held an ordination ; as he had also done the year before ; in his 91st year, he consecrated a chapel at Ramsea ; and was still able to meet his clergy at the annual convocation, and to address them in a charge, as usual.

The infirmities of old age, however, were taking fast hold upon him. His eyes were growing dim, and his natural force was abated. In June 1751, he wrote thus to the newly-appointed governor of the island :—

"HONOURED GOVERNOR,—I hope my great age, and the infirmities that attend it, will be some excuse for my forgetting so long to inquire after your health, and settling in your government. I promise to make some amends for that fault, by my daily prayers that God may bless you, and make you a happy instrument of good to this people, and comfort and satisfaction to yourself ; this being the duty of, honoured sir, your affectionate friend and humble servant,

THO. SODOR AND MAN."

He was old and full of days, and this, combined with the occasional attacks of severe bodily ailment, left him no room to doubt that he would soon be gathered to his people. Nor was it an unwelcome thought. He had long been accustomed to contemplate the future world, so far as revelation lifts the veil which rests between it and us ; and he rejoiced to have found the *new and living way*, which would conduct him safely from the grave to immortal glory. While he felt weak in himself, a firm reliance on his Saviour's merits preserved him from any fear of evil in the valley of the shadow of death,

and feeling assured that the mercy and goodness of God would follow him for ever, the prospect of the change which awaited him was far from being unpleasing. He could understand St. Paul's willingness rather to be absent from the body, and felt that it was better to depart and be with Christ. A reference to the *Sacra Privata* will show that these were the settled and familiar thoughts of his mind. Hence he was *careful for nothing*, and in a very remarkable degree *the peace of God, which passeth all understanding, kept his heart and mind*. But he always rightly considered that this life was the appointed season in which we are to prepare for the enjoyment of the society of heaven, and therefore in his prayers he fervently implored the assistance of the Spirit of God to make him meet for that rest which remaineth for his people.

His humility was deeply rooted in a conviction of the depravity of human nature, and of its evidences in his own heart. And although the chief aim of his sermons and other writings was to induce all whom his instructions should reach, to give all diligence to *add to their faith virtue, and to virtue knowledge, and to knowledge temperance, and to temperance patience, and to patience godliness, and to godliness brotherly kindness, and to brotherly kindness charity*, yet he never forgot that the glory to be revealed is *not of debt but of grace*. We might show this by repeated quotations from his writings; but nothing can evince it more clearly than some words which were casually heard as they fell from his lips a short time before his death. He was just coming forth from the retirement of his chamber, expressing the thoughts of a full heart, and unconscious of any listener but God, exclaiming,—“God be merciful to me a sinner—a vile sinner—a miserable sinner!”

As he drew nearer to the confines of the next world, he became more fit to partake of its spiritual enjoyments. A student who resided with him, and watched the gradual decay of nature, observed that God was indeed preparing him for the change, and causing his light to shine more and more unto the perfect day ; his benignity became still more remarkable, his conversation more sweet and heavenly, his prayers more frequent and fervent. The same student could often, from his chamber, overhear the bishop making known his requests to God, and repeating portions of psalms and hymns and spiritual songs. Here was an instance that—

Heaven waits not the last moment ; owns her friends
On this side death, and points them out to men ;
A lecture, silent, but of sovereign power,
To vice confusion, and to virtue peace !—YOUNG.

The immediate cause of bishop Wilson's death was a cold caught by walking in his garden after evening prayers, in very damp weather. Nature held out but a very short time against the assault of the last enemy. His fever being accompanied by delirium, prevented our receiving any of those beautiful and persuasive instructions which are so often learned at the bedside of the dying christian ; yet was there a light shining through the cloud which rested upon his mind ; for his words betokened that if his mind had wandered from earthly affairs, it had settled upon things heavenly.

After a short illness his spirit was admitted to the glorious liberty of the sons of God. He died March the 7th, 1755, in the ninety-third year of his age, and the fifty-eighth of his consecration.

One feeling of sorrow pervaded the island on hearing the melancholy tidings of the decease of this generous, excellent, and venerable pastor. A concourse, from

which few were absent except the sick and infirm, assembled to follow his remains from Bishop's-court to the grave, a distance of two miles ; and tears and sighs and tender thoughts did more honour to the departed than the pomp and parade of more costly funerals. The body was borne by the tenants of the estate, and the Rev. Philip Moore preached the funeral sermon.

A plain monument in the church-yard of Kirk-Michael denotes the spot where the mortal remains of this holy man were deposited, surrounded by the ashes of many who, poor perhaps in this world, but rich in faith, were through his means made heirs of the kingdom which God hath promised to them that love him. The following is the inscription :—

Sleeping in Jesus,
here lieth the body of
THOMAS WILSON, D.D.
Lord Bishop of this Isle,
who died March the 7th, 1755,
aged 93,
and in the fifty-eighth year of his consecration.
This monument was erected
by his son Thomas Wilson, D. D.
a native of this parish,
who, in obedience to the *express commands* of his father,
declines giving him the character he so
justly deserved.
Let this Island speak the rest.

The principal features of bishop Wilson's character, as far as we have the means of ascertaining it, have been so particularly noticed in this memoir, that it can only be necessary to say here in a very few words, that we have represented him as being a zealous, devout, and single-

mindful man; as a bishop, aiming to do all to the glory of God; most exemplary as a son, a husband, and a father; of a peculiarly sweet disposition and temper; that he was benign, generous, disinterested; rarely equalled in his unbounded beneficence to all who stood in need of his assistance; of great fortitude, and remarkable simplicity; and though not possessed of any extraordinary mental faculties, yet eminently endued with good sense. And never, perhaps, did a purer spirit wing its way from the earthly house of this tabernacle to the *building of God, the house not made with hands, eternal, in the heavens*.

Some further remarks on his character and writings will be found in two interesting letters which Dr. Wilson, the bishop's son, received after the publication of his father's Life and Works. One of them was written by an eminent bishop, the other by a member of the Society of Friends.

The first of these letters came from the pen of bishop Horne. "I am charmed," he says, "with the view the books afford me of the good man your father, in his diocese and in his closet. *The Life*, the *Sacra Privata*, the *Maxims*, the *Parochialia*, &c. &c. exhibit altogether a complete and lovely portrait of a christian bishop going through all his functions with consummate prudence, fortitude, and piety; the pastor and father of a happy island for near threescore years! The case is really an *unique* in ecclesiastical story.

"The *Sermons* are the affectionate addresses of a parent to his children, descending to the minutest particulars, and adapted to all their wants. In a delicate and fastidious age, they may perhaps be slighted for their plainness and simplicity; but they were just what they should be for the place and for the people. To use an illustration of his own, he is the best physician who cures

the most patients: and at the last great day, may they who value themselves on their learning, their elegance, and their eloquence, give as good an account of their stewardship as the bishop of Sodor and Man!"

The other letter was written by Mr. William Matthews, of Bath, and was expressed in the following terms.

" Walcot, 12th month, 12, 1780.

" My worthy friend— There are times when our minds are particularly impressed with sentiments of a social kind, and our souls expand in the feeling of religious good. Such are the times when communication will not only be sincere, but carry with it an evidence of that truth which reduces to one level the little and the great. Our minds are blessed various ways; but all good is derived from the one immortal source of it, even from God himself. Yet I desire to receive and esteem as I ought, those instrumental means which Divine Providence is appointing in aid of human weakness.

" I am now reading with admiration and delight the works of thy late venerable father, so lately given as another scriptural blessing to mankind. And while I read, I cannot but secretly applaud the twofold motive by which they were brought forth and ushered into the world: in the old age of his son; a last testimony of filial reverence, and a laudable concern for the good of the present and succeeding generations! Suffer me, then, to congratulate thee on living to see the publication of this invaluable work. Thy only remaining solicitude must be that of all good men, that the public in general may be wise enough to read it with a serious and devout attention. But, alas! my good friend, so general is the folly of the multitude, so great their depravity of mind, that wisdom is treated with contempt; and the writings of the wise and good, inspired from heaven for the pur-

pose of salvation, must give way to the amusements of a comedy, and be rejected for the poison of a ludicrous romance ! There are other classes of readers, too, from whom little must be expected ; speculative men, whose principal aim is to find out some new thing, that they may be wiser in their own conceit, and able to amuse their fellow-creatures without the requisite qualifications for making them better : such men will perhaps affect to treat the most spiritual part of this excellent work as the fruit of a mind unnecessarily burthened with a weight of extreme devotion ; others, admitting in theory all due reverence to the christian religion, yet under the influence of prejudice in matters of mere opinion, may not receive the work with that willing mind which would lead them to look into a book published by some favourite sectary, or some wild enthusiast. But as the memory of the just is blessed, so are their works. And though there were among the Jews those who disregarded Moses and the Prophets ; and the present age aboundeth with those who will neither hear them nor the Gospel of Him who is risen from the dead : yet shall the words of the wise remain, to be as *goads and as nails fastened by the masters of assemblies, which are given from one Shepherd*. They are not given forth in vain, for they are parts of that universal and eternal Word of God, which *shall accomplish the work whereunto he hath sent it*.

“ The *Sermons*, I think, are simple, clear, and interesting, beyond any body of discourses which I have seen. The other parts are certainly not inferior in their kind. But what a rich fund of pure, sublime, and heavenly devotion is the *Sacra Privata* ! There we find the true picture of a truly christian mind. A progressive series of faithful exercises, in communion, through Jesus Christ, with God the Father, who seeth and heareth in secret,

and who, with the abundant graces of his Holy Spirit, rewardeth his children openly. Such were the primitive apostles and preachers of the gospel of Christ; such was the bishop of Man; and such as they were must all men be, who ever come to be adorned with the real beauty of holiness. They only are pleasant in their lives, and in their death they are not divided!

“The *Sacra Privata* is a treasure to which I often resort in my short relaxations from the cares of the day; and I am fully convinced, that nothing short of apostolical wisdom, piety, and purity of soul, could bring forth such fervent strains of devotion. May it, and the works at large, be blessed to thousands and tens of thousands, while the name of the author shall be had in everlasting remembrance.

“In coming to a conclusion of these few sentences, I must indulge in a more particular and affectionate address to thyself. I think of thee with that unfeigned esteem and regard which an honourable and peaceful old age inspires. Honourable in itself, and deriving a peculiar honour from a father so truly great and good!

“I consider thee as one whom the course of nature is soon to remove from among the living, and number with the generations that are gone before. Such must be a time of great seriousness; a time for that resignation which I am persuaded thou feelest, to the Divine Disposer of all events. To be resigned in such a situation is the most happy of all privileges; a last great instance of that *goodness and mercy* which followed the royal psalmist all the days of his life, and which we humbly trust had not forsaken good Hezekiah when he *turned his face to the wall and wept!*

“I have no pretensions to ceremonious addresses or conclusions, and they would ill become us both; but in

the fervent spirit of christian goodwill, I wish thy every day of declining from this world may produce new comfort from another, and *the better comforter*. And that thy last day may bring thee to a communion with thy father's spirit, made perfect for a glorious immortality."

It may not be uninteresting to the reader to know that when he enters St. Paul's cathedral, the dark-coloured steps on which he treads were the produce of quarries in the Isle of Man, and the gift of bishop Wilson.

THE LIFE
OF
JOHN EVELYN, Esq.
1620—1706.

CHAPTER I.

HIS PARENTAGE, EDUCATION, TRAVELS, AND MARRIAGE.

My boast is not that I deduce my birth
From loins entron'd, and rulers of the earth ;
But higher far my proud pretensions rise —
The son of parents pass'd into the skies.—COWPER.

It is delightful to observe the man of taste, the philosopher, and the acquaintance of princes, bowing at the foot of the cross, desiring to walk in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord blameless, and confessing that the gospel of Christ is his comfort, his pleasure, and his glory ; to see him ever recognising the Almighty as the Author of all good, grateful for the spiritual and temporal mercies bestowed upon him, and anxious above all things to secure the treasure in the heavens that faileth not. Such were the disposition and character of the excellent subject of the following memoir.

The stock from which Mr. Evelyn sprang was ancient, and highly respectable. “ We have not,” he says, “ been at Wotton (purchased of one Owen, a great rich man,) above one hundred and sixty years ; my great grandfather came from Long Ditton, (the seat now of sir Edward Evelyn,) where we had been long before ; and to Long Ditton from Harrow on the Hill, and many years

before that from Evelyn, near Tower Castle, in Shropshire ; at what time there transmigrated also (as I have been told) the Onslows, and Hattons, from seats and places of those names yet there. There are of our name, both in France and Italy, written Ivelyn, Avelyn. In old deeds I find Avelyn alias Evelyn. One of our name was taken prisoner at the battle of Agincourt. When the duchess of Orleans came to Dover to see the king, one of our name (whose family derives itself from Lusignenus, king of Cyprus,) claimed a relation of us. We have in our family a tradition of a great sum of money that had been given for the ransom of a French lord, with which a great estate was purchased ; but these things are all mystical."

Mr. Evelyn's grandfather became eminent during the reign of queen Elizabeth for the manufacture of gunpowder, which art he carried to higher perfection than it had hitherto reached in England. Being thus considerably enriched, he made large additions to the property which he inherited, and bequeathed extensive estates to each of his three surviving sons, to the youngest of whom, named Richard, he left Wotton, at which place he had passed the latter days of his life. Mr. Richard Evelyn was the father of John, the subject of this memoir, who describes him as one whose "wisdom was great, his judgment acute ; of solid discourse, affable, humble, and in nothing affected ; of a thriving, neat, silent, and methodical genius ; discreetly severe, yet liberal on all just occasions to his children, strangers, and servants ; a lover of hospitality ; of a singular and christian moderation in all his actions ; a justice of the peace, and of the quorum. He served his country as high sheriff for Surrey and Sussex together. He was a studious decliner of honours and titles, being already in that esteem with his

country that they could have added little to him besides their burthen. He was a person of that rare conversation, that upon frequent recollection and calling to mind passages of his life and discourse, I could never charge him with the least passion or inadvertence." He was "so exact and temperate that I have heard he never had been surprised by excess, being ascetic and sparing." Moreover, his complexion was clear and fresh, "his eyes quick and piercing;" he had an ample forehead and manly aspect, "was low of stature, but very strong." His hair, which was light, turned grey before he was thirty, with a "beard, which he wore a little picked, as the mode was, of a brownish colour. His estate was esteemed about 4000*l.* per annum, well wooded, and full of timber."*

Such is the character which Mr. Evelyn has given of his father, in his *Diary*. His description of his mother is not less quaint and pleasing. "My mother's name was Elianor, sole daughter and heiress of John Standsfield, Esq. of an ancient and honourable family (though now extinct) in Shropshire, by his wife, Elianor Comber, of a good and well-known house in Sussex. She was of proper personage; of a brown complexion; her eyes and hair of a lovely black; of constitution inclined to a religious melancholy, or pious sadness; of a rare memory and most exemplary life; for economy and prudence esteemed one of the most conspicuous in her country."

"So much touching my parents," he says; "nor was it reasonable I should speak less of them, to whom I owe so much." Of these parents, John was the fourth child, and second son. He was born at Wotton on the 31st of October 1620, and at four years of age was taught to

* The quotations from Mr. Evelyn's *Diary* have been made in modern spelling in this memoir; and a few obsolete expressions have been altered.

read by the village schoolmaster, in the porch of the parish church.

The five earliest years of his life were passed in his native place, on the paternal estates; and, since the tastes of mature age are frequently to be attributed to very early impressions, it is sufficiently probable that his love of rural pursuits was implanted amidst the beautiful scenery of Wotton, in which he commenced his days. "The house," he says, "is large and ancient, and so sweetly environed with those delicious streams and venerable woods, as in the judgment of strangers as well as Englishmen, it may be compared to one of the most pleasant seats in the nation, and most tempting for a great person and a wanton purse to render it conspicuous. It has rising grounds, meadows, woods, and water in abundance." He elsewhere speaks with delight of the "store of woods and timber of prodigious size." The distance from London little more than twenty miles, [really twenty-six,] and yet so securely placed as if it were a hundred; three miles from Dorking, which serves it abundantly with provisions, as well of land as sea; six from Guildford, twelve from Kingston. I will say nothing of the air, because the preeminence is universally given to Surrey, the soil being dry and sandy. But I should speak much of the gardens, fountains, and groves that adorn it, were they not as generally known to be amongst the most natural, and (till this later and universal luxury of the whole nation, since abounding in such expenses,) the most magnificent that England afforded, and which indeed gave one of the first examples to that elegance, since so much in vogue and followed, in managing of their waters, and other ornaments of that nature. Let me add, the contiguity of five or six manors, the patronage of the livings about it, and, what is none of the least advantages, a good neighbourhood."

From this abode, upon the beauties of which he loved to expatiate, he was sent when five years old, to reside with his grandfather Standsfield, at the Cliff near Lewes. In his eighth year he began to learn writing and Latin, at Lewes; and two years after was removed to the free school at Southover, near that town. His grandfather had then recently died, and his father fearing that the boy would be spoiled by "the fondness of his too-indulgent grandmother," proposed to send him to Eton. This was in the year 1632; but that good-natured relative dreading the thought of the rough usage to which her young charge would be exposed in a public school, so worked upon the boy's fears, and tamed his spirit, that his father was induced to abandon his intention. "I was so terrified at the report of the severe discipline there, that I was sent back to Lewes, which perverseness of mine I have since a thousand times deplored;" and there he remained till he was sent to the university.

At the age of fifteen he lost his excellent mother; and the circumstances of the closing scene of her life were such as might have left a deep impression, even upon a mind less susceptible than his. "When near her death, she summoned all her children then living, (I shall never forget it,) and expressed herself in a manner so heavenly, with instructions so pious and christian, as made us strangely sensible of the extraordinary loss then imminent; after which, embracing every one of us, she gave to each a ring, with her blessing. Then taking my father by the hand, she recommended us to his care; and having importuned him, that what he designed to bestow upon her funeral he would rather dispose among the poor, she laboured to compose herself for the blessed change, which she now expected. There was not a servant in the house whom she did not expressly send for, advise, and infinitely affect with her counsel. . . . She was

many days impairing, and endured the sharpest conflicts of her sickness with admirable patience and most christian resignation, retaining her intellects and ardent desires for her dissolution, to the very article of her departure. When near her dissolution she laid her hand on every one of her children, and taking solemn leave of my father, with elevated heart and eyes, she quietly expired, and resigned her soul to God."

John Evelyn had been, by his own account, "extremely remiss in his studies," at school, and when he went to the university in May 1637, it was "rather out of shame of abiding longer at school, than for any fitness." He was admitted a fellow-commoner of Balliol college, Oxford, where he speaks very humbly of his progress in learning. From Oxford he was removed to the Middle Temple for the purpose of studying the law. Not long after, he received intelligence of the serious illness of his father, which in the course of a few months took a very alarming turn, and eventually terminated fatally. His "disorder appeared to be a dropsy, an indisposition the most unsuspected, he being a person so exemplarily temperate. On the 24th of December (1640) he died, retaining his senses and piety to the last, which he most tenderly expressed in blessing us, whom he now left to the world and the worst of times, whilst he was taken from the evil to come."

"1641. 2 January. We at night followed the mourning hearse to the church at Wotton, when, after a sermon and funeral oration, my father was interred near his formerly erected monument, and mingled with the ashes of our mother, his dear wife. Thus we were bereft of both our parents, in a period when we most of all stood in need of their assistance, especially myself, of a raw, vain, uncertain, and very unwary inclination : but so

it pleased God to make trial of my conduct in a conjuncture of the greatest and most prodigious hazard that ever the youth of England saw. If I did not, amidst all this, impeach my liberty nor my virtue, with the rest who made shipwreck of both, it was more the infinite goodness and mercy of God than the least discretion of mine own, who now thought of nothing but the pursuit of vanity, and the confused imaginations of young men."

The riots in London, the general diffusion of seditious libels, and the execution of the earl of Strafford, "whose crime," he says, "came under the cognizance of no human law," inclined him to absent himself "from this ill face of things at home;" particularly as he feared that the calamities of his country were "but yet in their infancy." He accordingly resolved to make a tour in Holland, and proposed to himself, as an object of some interest, to witness the siege of Gennep, a strong castle on the river Waal, which was then attacked by the French and Dutch armies. In company with a gentleman named Caryll, and their servants, he embarked at Gravesend on the 21st of July 1641; and landing at Flushing on the next day about noon, proceeded by way of Dort, Rotterdam, and Delft, to the Hague, where he attended the court of the estimable queen of Bohemia. Although they stayed a very short time in the towns through which they passed, they found on their arrival at Gennep that the castle had been taken a few days before, and so, he says, "we had only a sight of the demolitions." He was, however, complimented by being received a volunteer in captain Apsley's company, and took his turn in "watching on a horn-work, and trailing a pike," till the fortifications were repaired. His military services, however, were of short duration, for in about a week he took his leave, and continued his tour

through Holland and Flanders, during which he availed himself of every opportunity of gratifying his taste for pictures, gardens, and works of art. After an absence of about three months, he landed at Dover on the 12th of October, and returned to his chambers in the Middle Temple.

For more than a year, he appears to have been unsettled as to his residence; and when in London, he describes himself as "studying a little, but dancing and fooling more." Occasionally he visited his relatives in the country; sometimes he went to observe the progress of the armies; and on one occasion we find him going out with the intention of joining the king's army at Brentford. Arriving, however, too late for the battle, he gave up all further thoughts of a military life, considering that his brother's, as well as his own estates, were so near London as to be fully in the power of the Parliament.

In the summer of 1643 he retired to his brother's house at Wotton. "Resolving," he says, "to possess myself in some quiet if it might be, in a time of so great jealousy, I built by my brother's permission a study, made a fish-pond and island, and some other solitudes and retirements, which gave the first occasion of improving them to those waterworks and gardens which afterwards succeeded them." But even there he was not suffered to reside in peace. He was frequently obliged to absent himself from home, in order to escape being pressed to take the solemn league and covenant; and at length, "finding it impossible to evade the doing very unhandsome things," he obtained from the king a licence to travel, and set out for a longer journey than the last, accompanied by Mr. Thicknesse, his fellow collegian, and "very dear friend."

In those days, as well as the present, many of the young

nobility and gentry travelled on the continent for the professed purpose of completing their education. Too often, however, those tours were productive of evil effects, being spent in vicious indulgences, and only sending the youthful travellers home insolent, ignorant, and debauched. "The ordinary commerce and import of their wild pererrations," as Evelyn expresses it, was "the vanity of talk, feather, and ribbon." "But it is not enough," he says, "that a person of quality be taught to dance and to ride, to speak languages, and wear his clothes with a good grace, (which are the very shells of travel,) but besides all these, that he know men, customs, courts, and disciplines, and whatsoever superior excellences the places afford, befitting a person of birth and noble impressions. This is the fruit of travel; thus our incomparable Sydney was bred; and this sets the crown upon his perfections, when a gallant man shall return with religion and courage, knowledge and modesty, without pedantry, without affectation, material and serious, to the contentment of his relations, the glory of his family, the star and ornament of his age. This is truly to give a citizen to his country." Mr. Evelyn's journal evinces that his pursuits abroad were of such a character as he, in later life, recommended for the young lord Percy, in the letter which furnishes the foregoing extract.

He employed about three years in his tours through France, Italy, and Switzerland, but we must confine ourselves to a very brief notice of his journey and residence abroad. In the month of November 1643, he landed at Calais, with his friend, and arrived in Paris not many days after. That metropolis was his principal place of residence till the following spring, when he made an excursion into Normandy. Leaving Paris again in April 1644, he travelled as far as Tours, where he remained about four

months, and took an opportunity of "studying the tongue very diligently." In September he proceeded to Marseilles, seeing all that was worthy of note by the way; and there embarked for Genoa, at which place he arrived about the middle of October, after having narrowly escaped shipwreck in doubling the point of Savona. Passing through Pisa, Leghorn, and Florence, he arrived next month at Rome, where he spent the winter in seeing all the antiquities and curiosities of that famous city. During this interval he visited mount Vesuvius and Naples. The latter place was the limit of his travels, being, as he says, "sufficiently sated with rolling up and down, and resolving within myself to be no longer a wanderer if ever I got home again, since from the report of divers experienced and curious persons I had been assured there was little more to be seen in the rest of the civil world, after Italy, France, Flanders, and the Low Country, but plain and prodigious barbarism."

On the 18th of May 1645, he finally left Rome, returned once more to Florence, and thence proceeded to Venice. There he found a ship bound for the Holy Land, and "had resolved to embark, intending to see Jerusalem, and other parts of Syria, Egypt, and Turkey," but after he had laid in his sea-stock, the vessel was "pressed for the service of the State, which," he says, "altogether frustrated my design, to my great mortification." In June he went to Padua, for the purpose of studying in that distinguished university; and between that place and Venice he passed the following winter. In September, he notes, that Mr. Thicknesse, his dear friend, and till now constant fellow-traveller, was obliged to return to England "upon his particular concern; but he had several English acquaintances, and especially Mr. Henshaw, with whom he passed "many bright and

happy moments—in viewing and contemplating the entertainments of travellers who go not abroad to count steeples, but to improve themselves.”

Taking leave of his friends at Venice and Padua in March 1646, he set out on his return to Paris, in company with Waller the poet and two other gentlemen, and saw in succession whatever was worthy of observation at Vicenza, Verona, and Milan; crossed the Alps with great fatigue and considerable danger; and arrived at Geneva, where he was detained for several weeks by a severe attack of small-pox. Having sufficiently recovered his strength, he returned to Paris, in July 1646, “rejoiced that after so many disasters and accidents in a tedious peregrination, I was gotten so near home; and here I resolved to rest myself before I went further.”

When he wrote this, he had fresh in his memory not only the fatigue of travelling, but those interruptions of health which he had experienced at Geneva, and shortly before at Padua, and hence we can account for these expressions of dissatisfaction. But his tour had been on the whole highly agreeable. He had made progress in his favourite study of natural philosophy; examined many ingenious productions of art; made himself better acquainted with modern languages; heard much delightful music, and learned to play a little upon a kind of lute called the theorbo; had visited some very choice collections of paintings, and learned and practised drawing; inspected with particular satisfaction the palaces and villas, the gardens, grottoes, and fountains, in the several places through which he passed; and had taken much “agreeable toil among ruins and antiquities, and in viewing the cabinets and curiosities of the virtuosi.” He had also gladly availed himself of the opportunities which offered for becoming acquainted with many eminent foreigners who

were distinguished for their attainments in the several branches of literature and science.

After having taken up his abode for the winter in Paris, he speaks of the early part of that season as "the only time that in his whole life he spent most idly, tempted from his more profitable recesses; but I soon," he says, "recovered my better resolutions and fell to my study, learning the High Dutch and Spanish tongues, and now and then refreshing my dancing and such exercises as I had long omitted." He also attended a "course of chemistry," and learned to play upon the lute, "though to small perfection."

During this residence in Paris, he became intimate with the family of sir Richard Browne, the British ambassador at the court of France, to whose only daughter he paid his addresses, and was married on the 27th of June 1647. This lady was then of very tender years, and Mr. Evelyn subsequently took great pains in directing her studies and forming her character. Even in her old age, the kindness which had been evinced by him at this period was gratefully remembered; "His care of my education," she says, "was such as might become a father, a lover, a friend, and husband, — for instruction, tenderness, affection, and fidelity, — to the last moment of his life; which obligation I mention with a gratitude to his memory ever dear to me; and I must not omit to own the sense I have of my parents' care and goodness, in placing me in such worthy hands." Nor was all this attention ill bestowed. Her disposition was congenial with his own, and she had an enlightened mind. According to the account of Dr. Bohun, a friend of the family and his frequent correspondent, she proved to be "the best daughter and wife, the most tender mother, and desirable neighbour and friend,

in all parts of her life. Though she had many advantages of birth, and beauty, and wit, yet you may perceive in her writings [letters,] an humble indifference to all worldly enjoyments, great charity and compassion to those that had disobliged her, and no memory of past occurrences, unless it were a grateful acknowledgment of some friendly office; a vein of good-nature, and resignation, and self-denial, runs through them all. There is nothing so despised in many of these letters, as the fruitless and empty vanities of the town; and they seem to pity the misfortune of those who are condemned, by their greater quality or stations, to squander away their precious time in unprofitable diversions, or bestow it in courtly visits and conversations. Where there happens to be any mention of children or friends, there is such an air of sincerity and benevolence for the one, and religious concern for the happiness of the other, as if she had no other design to live in the world than to perform her own duty, and promote the welfare of her relations and acquaintance. . . . She was the delight of all the conversations where she appeared; she was loved and admired, but never envied by any. . . . This happiness was gained and preserved by one wise qualification; for though no person living had a closer insight into the humours or characters of persons, or could distinguish their merits more nicely, yet she never made any despising or censorious reflections; her great discernment and wit were never abused to sully the reputation of others, nor affected any applause that might be gained by satirical jests. Though she was extremely valued, and her conversation highly prized and sought for by them of the highest condition, yet she ever treated those of the lowest with great condescension and humanity. . . . Scarce a harsh expression, much less any evil surmise or suspicion,

could be admitted [into her letters], where every line was devoted to charity and goodness. . . . That there is a great steadiness and equality in her thoughts, and that her sense and expressions have a mutual dependence on each other may be inferred from hence,—you shall never perceive one perplexed sentence or blot, or recalling a word, in more than twenty letters.” Yet was she most attentive to the care of her family and household. “We are willing to acknowledge,” she writes in a letter, “that all time borrowed from family duties is mis-spent; the care of children’s education, observing a husband’s commands, assisting the sick, relieving the poor, and being serviceable to our friends, are of sufficient weight to employ the most improved capacities amongst us; if sometimes it happens by accident that one of a thousand aspires a little higher, her fate commonly exposes her to wonder, but adds little to esteem.”

These extracts unfold the character and virtues of the lady who now became the wife of Mr. Evelyn, and whose love and society he enjoyed for upwards of fifty-eight years, after which he left her a widow.

An absence from England during four years, made it necessary for Mr. Evelyn to think of returning to settle his affairs; and a few months after his marriage, he crossed the Channel, having left his wife “under the care of an excellent lady and prudent mother.” On the 12th of October 1647, he “got safe to Dover; for which,” he says, “I heartily put up my thanks to God, who had conducted me safe to my own country, and been merciful to me through so many aberrations.” The state in which he found the country was such as occasioned to him great pain; the army and the parliament were at variance; and the king, as he expresses it, was “in the power of those execrable villains who not long after murdered him.”

A few days after his arrival he attended the king at Hampton court, and gave him an account of several things which he had in charge, doubtless from sir Richard Browne.

He was warmly attached to the cause of monarchy, but he conducted himself with prudence and discretion as to political matters. In two cases, however, he now ran a risk of incurring the displeasure of the ruling powers ; the one was by keeping up a political correspondence with sir Richard Browne ; the other, by publishing a translation of a little work entitled *Liberty and Servitude*, " for the preface of which," he says, " I was severely threatened." About a week after the appearance of this publication the king was beheaded, and of that event he takes the following notice in his *Diary* :—" The villainy of the rebels proceeding now so far as to try, condemn, and murder our excellent king, on the 30th of this month [January 1649], struck me with such horror, that I kept the day of his martyrdom a fast, and would not be present at that execrable wickedness, receiving the sad account of it from my brother George and Mr. Owen, who came to visit me this afternoon, and recounted all the circumstances."

Having been detained in England for more than a year and a half, Mr. Evelyn returned to Paris in the summer of 1649, and there he was received with favour by king Charles the second, and appears to have enjoyed the acquaintance and esteem of all the most eminent royalists who had taken refuge in that city. In the following summer, he was again called home by private business, which however only detained him a very few days. On his return he narrowly escaped much inconvenience at Canterbury, owing to the want of a proper passport. He had determined never to take the oaths to Cromwell's government, and without doing so, he could not now ob-

tain one of those necessary documents ; but on this occasion he presented an old passport, by which means he was suffered to proceed on his journey. "At Dover," he says, "money to the searchers and officers was as authentic as the hand and seal of Bradshaw himself, where I had not so much as myk trun opened."

Towards the close of the year 1651 he resolved to remove his family to England ; preparatory to which, on the last day of the year, being Sunday, he received the holy communion, at the same time returning thanks, as his manner was, to Almighty God, for the gracious protection which he had experienced during the past year. In February he crossed from Calais to Dover, and on the 9th of March we find the following memorandum:—"I went to Deptford, where I made preparation for my settlement, no more intending to go out of England, but endeavour a settled life, either in this or some other place, there being now so little appearance of any change for the better, all being entirely in the rebels' hands, and this particular habitation [Sayes Court], and the estate contiguous to it, (belonging to my father-in-law, actually in his majesty's service,) very much suffering for want of some friend to rescue it out of the power of the usurpers : so that to preserve our interest, and take some care of my other concerns, by the advice and endeavours of my friends I was advised to reside in it, and compound with the soldiers. This I was besides authorized by his majesty to do, and encouraged with a promise that what was in lease from the crown, if ever it pleased God to restore him, he would secure to us in fee-farm. I had also addresses and cyphers to correspond with his majesty and ministers abroad ; upon all which inducements I was persuaded to settle henceforth in England, having now run about the world, most part out of my own country, near

ten years. I therefore now likewise meditated sending over for my wife, whom as yet I had left at Paris."

Having ordered a coach to be built for the use of his wife, and having obtained from his schoolfellow, colonel Morley, one of the council of state, "a letter to the magistrates and searchers at Rye, to assist his wife at her landing, and shew her all civility," he went down to that place, where he welcomed her to her native land, to his "no small joy." She was accompanied by lady Browne, her mother.

The Dutch fleet was about that time hovering off the coast, and in order to escape it, the little vessel had been three days at sea, so that Mrs. Evelyn required rest after her voyage. When she was sufficiently recovered from its effects, they removed to Tunbridge, where they took a little cottage near the Wells, "in a very sweet place, private and refreshing."

Having remained with them for a few days, he set out on his way to Sayes Court, "to prepare for their reception." This journey had nearly proved fatal to him; for as he rode gently, on account of the heat of the sun, two fellows started out upon him, and dragged him from his horse; and having taken him into a thicket, robbed him, and left him bound hand and foot, with his back against a tree, with many dreadful imprecations. After two hours he succeeded in releasing his hands, though with much pain, and was thus enabled to proceed on his journey. In describing this occurrence, he expresses his deep gratitude to God for this deliverance, as well as for "many, many signal preservations," of which his memory preserved a thankful sense.

In the autumn of that year, "lady Browne was taken ill with the scarlet fever, and died. She was carried to Deptford, and interred in the church near sir Richard's

relations, with all decent ceremonies, and according to the church-office, for which I obtained permission, after it had not been used in that church for seven years. Thus ended an excellent and virtuous lady, universally lamented, having been so obliging on all occasions to those who continually frequented her house in Paris, which was not only a hospital but an asylum to all our persecuted and afflicted countrymen during eleven years there in that honourable situation."

Mr. Evelyn had now taken up his abode at Sayes Court near Deptford. Sir Richard Browne previously held a great part of that estate in lease from the crown; but his connexion with the royal cause was sufficient to occasion his interest in the property to be sequestered and sold. His son-in-law offered a sum of money for it, and eventually purchased it; soon after the completion of which, he had the satisfaction of making the following entry,—
 "This day I paid all my debts to a farthing. O blessed day!"

CHAPTER II.

GENERAL SKETCH OF HIS CHARACTER AND PURSUITS. — OCCURRENCES PREVIOUS TO THE RESTORATION.

O, friendly to the best pursuits of man,
 Friendly to thought, to virtue, and to peace—
 Domestic life in rural pleasures pass'd!
 Few know thy value!

COWPER.

It was Mr. Evelyn's lot to pass the earlier portion of his days in times particularly unsuitable to his disposition and taste. That was "an age of light" indeed, but it was "light without love;" and he was glad that his circumstances enabled him to retire to his calm and "green

retreat" at Sayes Court, and to enjoy the repose of rural life, unmolested by the turbulence and noise of the world, and without losing the society of his relatives, and his religious and literary friends. His pursuits were sufficiently various to make all his hours pass agreeably :—

“ Friends, books, a garden, and perhaps his pen,
Delightful industry, enjoyed at home ;
And Nature, in her cultivated trim,
Dress'd to his taste, inviting him abroad,—
Could he want occupation who had these ?”

Over all his employments piety diffused a spirit of grateful contentment, and taught him to trace his comforts, health, and prosperity, to the goodness of that God who gave him all things richly to enjoy. To trace his growth in the knowledge and love of God, from its first beginnings, through all its progress, is not in our power. His *Diary* was not kept as a register of private thoughts, and contains comparatively few intimations of his religious state ; and the papers which he wrote upon religious subjects have never been printed ; we are therefore left to gather our information from his *Diary and Correspondence* : and as far as it goes it is highly satisfactory : there are some opinions and remarks which, like Caleb's cluster of grapes, show with sufficient certainty that the land was fruitful. His father's example, and his mother's dying instruction, made a strong impression upon his mind. Not one expression of levity, not one word which could seem in the remotest degree to countenance laxity of morals or principles, can be found in his *Diary* from its commencement in his twenty-first year, to its conclusion ; and on all occasions of recovery from sickness, and preservation from other perils, he recognises the providence of a superintending God. Two days in the year he set

apart for especial meditation and prayer ; these were his birthday, and the first or last day of the year ; seasons in which a pious mind is inclined to reflect seriously, and to consider the past course of life, and the ways of God's providence. In his foreign travels he remembered God, and proposed to himself, young as he was, more grave and useful objects of pursuit than those too commonly chosen and followed by his youthful fellow-countrymen ; and at Paris, although for a short time he relaxed his studies, yet he soon resumed them with diligence, at the same time seeking the acquaintance of grave and pious divines, in preference to that of the young cavaliers, who too generally surrendered themselves to luxury and irreligion. He also noticed the sermons which he heard, their subjects, and religious character, as being particularly interesting to him ; and we have seen him at the Lord's table at a time, and under circumstances, when fashion rather invited him to forsake it, and scarcely any worldly motive could have encouraged him to put his pious intentions into practice.

Returning to his own country, and finding the clergy ejected from their spiritual charges, he did not absent himself from the public services of religion, but, little as he liked "extempore prayers, after the presbyterian way," he frequented his parish church at Deptford. The minister of the parish, "though somewhat of the independent, yet ordinarily preached sound doctrine," and was an "humble, harmless, and peaceable man." Occasionally, however, others, who were less acceptable, were permitted to occupy the pulpit, as one day he was surprised to see a tradesman, a mechanic, "step up," and preach that "now the saints were called to destroy temporal governments !" He speaks with respect of many other ministers besides the incumbent of his parish.

At times, however, he felt much dissatisfied with the general character of pulpit instruction, so far as he was acquainted with it; thus, in the latter part of the year 1656 he says—"There was now nothing practical preached, or that pressed reformation of life, but high and speculative points, and strains that few understood; which left people very ignorant, and of no steady principles, the source of all our sects and divisions, for there was much envy and uncharity in the world. God of his mercy amend it!"

"On the Sunday afternoon," he says, "I frequently stayed at home to catechise and instruct my family, those exercises universally ceasing in the parish churches, so that people had no principles [rudiments of christian knowledge], and grew very ignorant of even the common points of christianity, all devotion being now placed in hearing sermons, and discourses of speculative and notional things."

"There being no such thing as church anniversaries in the parochial assemblies," he kept Christmas-day, Easter, Good Friday, and the other fasts and festivals, either privately in his own house, or amongst the members of the church of England in London. At home he availed himself most commonly of the services of "that excellent man and worthy divine, Mr. Owen of Eltham, a sequestered person." In London he went sometimes to a private house, where "some of the orthodox sequestered divines did use the *Common Prayer*, administer sacraments, &c.;" and in the years 1654 and 1655, he attended at St. Gregory's, a small church contiguous to St. Paul's cathedral, "the ruling powers conniving at the use of the liturgy, &c. in this church alone." Towards the end of the year 1655, however, "came forth the Protector's edict or proclamation, prohibiting all minis-

ters of the church of England from preaching, or teaching any schools ; in which," says Evelyn, "he imitated the apostate Julian." On the 25th of December he notes in his *Diary*—"There was now no more notice taken of Christmas-day in churches. I went to London, where Dr. Wild preached the funeral sermon of preaching, this being the last day after which Cromwell's proclamation was to take place, that none of the church of England should dare either to preach or administer sacraments, teach schools, &c. So this was the mournfullest day that in my life I had seen, or the church of England herself, since the Reformation, to the great rejoicing of both papist and presbyter. The text was 2 Cor. xiii. 9;—that, however persecution dealt with the ministers of God's word, they were still to pray for the flock, and wish their perfection, as it was the flock's to pray for and assist their pastors, by the example of St. Paul. So pathetic was his discourse, that it drew many tears from the auditory. Myself, wife, and some of our family received the communion. God make me thankful, who hath hitherto provided for us the food of our souls as well as bodies ! The Lord Jesus pity our distressed church, and bring back the captivity of Zion !" After this the "church was reduced to a chamber and conventicle, so sharp was the persecution ;" and he describes their assembling in a private house in Fleet-street, where they had "a great meeting of zealous christians, who were generally much more devout and religious than in our greatest prosperity." In 1658 he speaks of the church as being "in dens and caves of the earth," and relates an anecdote which shows that one of these visits to London for pious purposes was likely to have brought him into serious trouble.

"December 25. I went to London, with my wife, to

celebrate Christmas-day; Mr. Gunning preaching in Exeter chapel, on Micah vii. 2. Sermon ended, as he was giving us the holy sacrament, the chapel was surrounded with soldiers, and all the communicants and assembly surprised and kept prisoners by them, some in the house, others carried away. It fell to my share to be confined to a room in the house, [Exeter house,] where yet I was permitted to dine with the master of it, and the countess of Dorset, lady Hatton, and some others of quality who invited me. In the afternoon came colonel Whaly, Goffe, and others, from Whitehall, to examine us one by one; some they committed to the Marshall, some to prison. When I came before them they took my name and abode, examined me why, contrary to an ordinance made that none should any longer observe the superstitious time of the Nativity, (so esteemed by them,) I durst offend; and particularly be at Common Prayers, which they told me was but the Mass in English, and particularly pray for Charles Stuart, for which we had no Scripture. I told them we did not pray for Charles Stuart, but for all Christian kings, princes, and governors. They replied, in so doing we prayed for the king of Spain too, who was their enemy, and a papist, with other frivolous and ensnaring questions, and much threatening; and finding no colour to detain me, they dismissed me with much pity of my ignorance. These were men of high flight, and above ordinances, and spake spiteful things of our Lord's Nativity. As we went up to receive the sacrament, the miscreants held their muskets against us, as if they would have shot us at the altar, but yet suffered us to finish the office of communion, as perhaps not having instructions what to do in case they found us in that action. So I got home, late the next day, blessed be God."

Mr. Evelyn also had his children baptised in his own house by the silenced clergy, "because the parish minister," he says, "durst not have officiated according to the form and usage of the church of England, to which I always adhered."

A book of devotions, entitled *Mental Communion*, and suited to those times when the prayer-book was proscribed, is preserved by his family as a precious relic, believed to have been composed by himself, and known to have been usually carried in his pocket.

Another token of Mr. Evelyn's desire to please God was his making choice of a spiritual adviser, and that so pious and devout a person as Dr. Jeremy Taylor.

On the 31st of March 1655, he says, "I made a visit to Dr. Jeremy Taylor, to confer with him about some spiritual matters, using him thenceforward as my ghostly father. I beseech God Almighty to make me ever mindful of, and thankful for, his heavenly assistances."

At what time their acquaintance commenced cannot now be ascertained, but we find Evelyn amongst the hearers of Taylor when the latter preached in London, and early in the year 1654 we meet with a letter from Evelyn to Taylor, the language of which implies that they had some previous knowledge of each other. Taylor had fallen under the displeasure of the government, in consequence of some remarks in the preface to his *Golden Grove*, in behalf of monarchy and the persecuted church. Evelyn, in his letter, expresses the anxiety occasioned to him by the tidings of Taylor's calamity, congratulates him on his release from prison, and thanks him for his example of the patient endurance of tribulation, by which he preached as effectually in his "chains as in the chair, in the prison as in the pulpit." In another letter, the date of which is involved in some uncertainty, Evelyn condoles with his friend, who was evidently again in bondage

From their subsequent correspondence it may be proper here to quote a few passages, particularly such as will illustrate Evelyn's piety and manner of life.

Taylor to Evelyn, Nov. 21, 1655.—“ There could not be given me a greater or more persuasive testimony of the reality of your piety and care, than that you pass to greater degrees of caution, and the love of God. It is the work of your life, and I perceive you betake yourself heartily to it. The God of heaven and earth prosper you and accept you !”

Taylor to Evelyn.—“ St. Paul's Convers. Jan. 25, 1656. I perceived by your symptoms how the spirits of pious men are affected in this evil time Yet I am highly persuaded that to good men and wise, a persecution is nothing but the changing the circumstances of religion, and the manner of the forms and appendages of divine worship. Public or private is all one; the first hath the advantage of society, the second of love. There is more warmth and light in that; there is a heat and zeal in this Sir, I thank you for the kind expressions at the latter end of your letter; you have never troubled me, neither can I pretend to any other return from you but that of your love and prayers.”

Taylor to Evelyn, April 16, 1656, written a few days after having dined with the latter at Sayes Court in company with the philosophers Berkeley, Boyle, and Wilkins; —“ Sir, I did believe myself so very much bound to you for your so kind, so friendly reception of me in your literary retreat, that I had some little wonder upon me when I saw you making excuses that it was no better. Sir, I came to see you and your lady, and am highly pleased that I did so, and found all your circumstances to be an heap and union of blessings. * But I have not either so great a fancy of the prettiness of your abode,

or so low an opinion of your prudence and piety, as to think you can be any way transported with them. I know the pleasure of them is gone off from their height before one month's possession, and that strangers and seldom-seers feel the beauty of them more than you who dwell with them. I am pleased indeed at the order and cleanness of all your outward things; and look upon you, not only as a person, by way of thankfulness to God for his mercies and goodness to you, specially obliged to a greater measure of piety; but also as one who, being freed in great degrees from secular cares and impediments, can without excuse and allay intend [devote yourself to] what you so passionately desire, the service of God."

In the same letter he speaks of having heard with some regret that Evelyn was about to publish a translation of Lucretius. He feared that amidst the reflections of the heathen philosopher, the truths of the gospel might be forgotten or undervalued; and availing himself of the privilege of a friend and spiritual counsellor, urged Evelyn to supply a "sufficient antidote," either by notes or in a preface. He further requested him to "employ the same pen in the glorifications of God," suggesting "divine things as worthy subjects for his poesy and spare hours." We have no evidence, however, that Evelyn ever acted upon the latter suggestion.

Evelyn to Taylor,—in answer; (April 27, 1656.)—"... I hope I shall prevail with you that I may have the honour to see you again at my poor villa, when my respects are less diverted, and that I may treat you without ceremony and constraint. For it were fitting you did see how I live when I am by myself, who cannot but pronounce me guilty of many vanities, deprehending [finding] me (as you did) at a time when I was to gratify so

many curious persons, to whom I had been greatly obliged, and for whom I have much value. I suppose you think me very happy in these outward things; but really I take so little satisfaction in them, that the censure of singularity would not affright me from embracing an hermitage, if I found that they did in the least distract my thoughts from better things; or that I did not take more pleasure and incomparable felicity in that intercourse which it pleases God to permit me, in vouchsafing so unworthy a person to prostrate himself before Him, and contemplate his goodness. These are indeed gay things, and men esteem me happy, *but I*, a polluted and guilty sinner, am oppressed day and night with *the fear of being called to my account*. Whilst that account is in suspense, who can truly enjoy anything in this life *without an alloy*? *For I am always dreading that I shall deceive myself by false security.*"*

With regard to the translation of Lucretius, he says in this letter, that he has endeavoured to guard against giving currency to any evil sentiments, and promises to proceed with caution, remembering his friend's counsel. The *First Book* was published in 1656; but the work was never finished, and many years after he speaks of it as having been only undertaken in his youth, "to charm his anxious thoughts during that sad and calamitous time." Taylor afterwards bestowed the highest commendations upon the performance, and bishop Heber considered Evelyn "fairly entitled to the credit of having transfused the sense, if not all the spirit of his original, into harmonious English verse." •

On the 6th and 7th of the following month, we find Evelyn introducing to Taylor a young Frenchman, whom he had "some time before brought to a full consent to

* The sentences in italics are in Latin in the original letter.

the church of England, her doctrine and discipline," and who, notwithstanding the afflictions of that church, was now a candidate for holy orders. Taylor being well satisfied with him, recommended him to some Irish prelate, whom Evelyn calls the bishop of Meath, then living in abject distress in London, and to whom the fees, paid by Evelyn, were a matter of charity. "To that necessity," he exclaims, "were our clergy reduced!"

Early in the following year Taylor was again in trouble, being committed to the Tower for a publication to which the bookseller had prefixed a print of Christ in the attitude of prayer. Evelyn ventured to write to the lieutenant of the Tower, soliciting an interview for his friend, whom he recommended as a man of innocent life, and one who had done good service to the cause of protestant truth. This application appears to have been successful, for Dr. Taylor was soon after at liberty.

Evelyn to Taylor, May 9th, 1657.—"Amongst the rest that are tributaries to your worth, I make bold to present you with this small token [a sum of money]; and though it bears no proportion either to my obligation or your merit, yet I hope you will accept it as the product of what I have employed for this purpose; and which you shall yearly receive, as long as God makes me able, and that it may be useful to you."

Taylor to Evelyn, May 15, 1657.—"A stranger came two nights since from you with a letter and a token; full of humanity and sweetness that was; and this, of charity. . . . Sir, what am I, or what can I do, or what have I done, that you think I have or can oblige you? Sir, you are too kind to me, and oblige me not only beyond my merit, but beyond my modesty. I only can love you, and honour you, and pray for you; and in all this I cannot say but I am behindhand with you, for I

have found so great effluxes [overflowings] of all your worthinesses and charities, that I am a debtor for your prayers, for the comfort of your letters, for the charity of your hand, and the affection of your heart."

; *Evelyn to Taylor*, June 9, 1657. — "To come and christen my son George." — "Sir, I heartily acknowledge the Divine mercies to me, both in this and many other instances of his goodness to me; but for no earthly concernment more than for what he has encouraged me by your charity and ministration towards my eternal and better interest. . . . Sir, I had forgotten to tell you, (and it did indeed extremely trouble me,) that you are to expect my coach to wait upon you presently after dinner, that you are not to expose yourself to the casualty of the tides in repairing to do so christian an office for, sir, &c. &c."

Taylor to Evelyn, June 9, 1657. — "Honoured and dear Sir, your messenger prevented mine but an hour. But I am much pleased that God hath given you another testimony of his love to your person, and of care of your family; it is an engagement to you of new degrees of duty. . . . Sir, your kind letter hath so abundantly rewarded and crowned my innocent endeavours in my descriptions of *friendship*, that I perceive there is a friendship beyond what I have fancied, . . . and when anything shall be observed to be wanting in my character, I can tell them where to see the substance, more beauteous than the picture. . . . Sir, I shall, by the grace of God, wait upon you to-morrow, and do the office you require; and shall hope that your little one may receive blessings, according to the heartiness of the prayers which I shall then and after make for him."

Taylor to Evelyn, May 12, 1658. — ". . . Sir, I am well pleased with the pious meditations, and the extracts

of a religious spirit which I read in your excellent letter. I can say nothing at present but this, that I hope in a short progression you will be wholly immersed in the delights and joys of religion, and as I perceive your relish and gust of the world goes off continually, so you will be invested with new capacities, and entertained with new appetites."

We meet with several other letters from Taylor to Evelyn, after these, but the replies of Evelyn are lost. It is pleasing, however, to observe how high a value Taylor sets upon his friend's prayers; thus in one letter he says,— "I beg of you to assist me with your prayers, and to obtain of God for me that I may arrive to that height of love and union with God, which is given to all those souls who are very dear to God." Several of these letters were written from the north of Ireland, where Jeremy Taylor had accepted a lectureship, in part through the influence and advice of Mr. Evelyn. But soon after the Restoration, all vestiges of their correspondence are at an end.

Mr. Evelyn's consolatory letter (Dec. 15, 1656,) to his brother George, on the death of a son, affords proof that the gospel had taught him in what spirit afflictions ought to be received. He confesses that "there is cause of sadness," and acknowledges that "it were as well impiety as stupidity to be totally without natural affection; but we must remember withal," he says, "that we grieve not as persons without hope: lest while we sacrifice to our passions [strong feelings] we be found to offend against God, and by indulging an over-kind nature, redouble the loss, and lose our recompense. Children are such blossoms as every trifling wind de-flowers; and to be disordered at their fall, were to be fond of certain troubles but the most uncertain comforts; whilst the store of the

more mature, which God has left you, invite both your resignation and your gratitude. So extraordinary prosperity as you have hitherto been encircled with, was indeed to be suspected; nor may he think to bear all his sails, whose vessel (like yours) has been driven by the highest gale of felicity. . . . God has suffered this for your exercise; seek then as well your consolation in his rod as in his staff. Are you offended that it has pleased Him to snatch your pretty babes from the infinite contingencies of so perverse an age, in which there is so little temptation to live? At least consider that your pledges are but gone a little before you; and that a part of you has taken possession of the inheritance which you must one day enter, if ever you will be happy. Brother, when I reflect on the loss, as it concerns our family in general, I could recal my own, and mingle my tears with yours (for I have also lost some very dear to me); but when I consider the necessity of submitting to the Divine arrests, I am ready to dry them again, and be silent. There is nothing of us perished, but deposited; and say not that they might have come later to their destiny: it is no small happiness to be happy quickly. . . . But I have now done with the philosopher, and will dismiss you with the divine. Brother, be not ignorant concerning them which are asleep, that you sorrow not, even as others which have no hope; for if we believe that Jesus died and rose again, even so them also which sleep in Jesus will God bring with him. They are the words of St. Paul, and I can add nothing to them. . . . Wherefore comfort one another with these words."

About a year after, he had occasion to avail himself of the same store of divine consolation. To the death of one child he refers in the above letter, and the beginning of the year 1658 was darkened with sorrow by the

loss of two more, one of whom was a child of great promise. His *Diary* records the following particulars relative to this afflictive dispensation :—

1658, 27 Jan.—“ After six fits of a quartan ague, with which it pleased God to visit him, died my dear son Richard, to our inexpressible grief and affliction; five years and three days old only, but at that tender age a prodigy for wit and understanding; for beauty of body a very angel; for endowment of mind, of incredible and rare hopes. To give only a little taste of some of them, and thereby glory to God, who out of the mouths of babes and infants does sometimes perfect his praises;—at two years and a half old, he could perfectly read any of the English, Latin, French, or Gothic letters, pronouncing the three first languages exactly. He had before the fifth year, or in that year, not only skill to read most written hands, but to decline all the nouns, conjugate the verbs regular, and most of the irregular; learned out *Puerilis*, got by heart almost the entire vocabulary of Latin and French primitives and words, could make congruous syntax, turn English into Latin, and *vice versâ*, construe and prove what he read, and did the government and use of relatives, verbs, substantives, ellipses, and many figures and tropes, and made considerable progress in Comenius’s *Janua*; began himself to write legibly, and had a strong passion for Greek. The number of verses he could recite was prodigious, and what he remembered of the parts of plays, which he would also act; and when, seeing a Plautus in one’s hand, he asked what book it was, and being told it was comedy, and too difficult for him, he wept for sorrow. Strange was his apt and ingenious application of fables and morals, for he had read *Æsop*; he had a wonderful disposition to mathematics, having by heart divers propositions of Euclid

that were read to him in play, and he would make lines and demonstrate them.

“As to his piety, astonishing were his applications of Scripture upon occasion, and his sense of God; he had learned all his catechism early, and understood the historical part of the Bible and New Testament to a wonder, how Christ came to redeem mankind, and how, comprehending these necessities himself, his godfathers were discharged of their promise. These and the like illuminations, far exceeding his age and experience, considering the prettiness of his address and behaviour, cannot but leave impressions in me at the memory of him. When one told him how many days a quaker had fasted, he replied that was no wonder, for Christ had said, man should not live by bread alone, but by the Word of God. He would of himself select the most pathetic psalms, and chapters out of Job, to read to his maid during his sickness, telling her when she pitied him, that all God’s children must suffer affliction. He declaimed against the vanities of the world, before he had seen any. Often he would desire those who came to see him, to pray by him; and a year before he fell sick, to kneel and pray with him alone in some corner. How thankfully would he receive admonition,—how soon be reconciled! How indifferent, yet continually cheerful! He would give grave advice to his brother John, bear with his impertinencies, and say he was but a child. If he heard of or saw any new thing, he was unquiet till he was told how it was made: he brought to us all such difficulties as he found in books, to be expounded. He had learned by heart divers sentences in Latin and Greek, which on occasion he would produce even to wonder. He was all life, all prettiness,—far from morose, sullen, or childish, in any thing he said or did. The last time he had been at church, (which was

at Greenwich,) I asked him, according to custom, what he remembered of the sermon? "Two good things, father," (said he, "*bonum gratiæ* and *bonum gloriæ*" [the blessings of grace and glory]; with a just account of what the preacher said. The day before he died he called me, and in a more serious manner than usual told me, that for all I loved him so dearly, I should give my house, land, and all my fine things, to his brother Jack; he should have none of them; and next morning, when he found himself ill, and that I persuaded him to keep his hands in bed, he demanded whether he might pray to God with his hands unjoined; and a little after, whilst in great agony, whether he should not offend God by using his holy name so often, calling for ease. What shall I say of his frequent pathetical ejaculations uttered of himself;— Sweet Jesus save me, deliver me, pardon my sins, let thine angels receive me! — So early knowledge, so much piety and perfection! But thus God having dressed up a saint fit for himself, would not longer permit him with us, unworthy of the future fruits of this incomparable hopeful blossom. Such a child I never saw: for such a child I bless God, in whose bosom he is! May I and mine become as this little child, who now follows the child Jesus, that Lamb of God, in a white robe, whithersoever he goes: — even so, Lord Jesus, *fiat voluntas tua!* [Thy will be done!] Thou gavest him to us, Thou hast taken him from us; blessed be the name of the Lord! That I had any thing acceptable to Thee was from thy grace alone, since from me he had nothing but sin; but that Thou hast pardoned! blessed be my God for ever, amen!"

"In my opinion he was suffocated by the women and maids that tended him, and covered him too hot with blankets as he lay in a cradle, near an excessive hot fire,

in a close room. I suffered him to be opened, when they found that he was what they call liver-grown. I caused his body to be coffined in lead, and deposited on the 30th, at eight o'clock that night, in the church of Deptford, accompanied with divers of my relations and neighbours, among whom I distributed rings with this motto — *Domini abstulit*, [*The Lord hath taken away*] ; intending, God willing, to have him transported with my own body, to be interred in our dormitory in Wotton church, in my dear native county Surrey, and to lay my bones and mingle my dust with my fathers, if God be gracious to me, and make me as fit for Him as this blessed child was. The Lord Jesus sanctify this and all other my afflictions. *Amen.*"

The letter in which he communicated this sad intelligence to sir Richard Browne is not less affecting: — "God has taken from us that dear child, your grandson, your godson, and with him all the joy and satisfaction that could be derived from the greatest hopes. A loss so much the more to be deplored, as our contentments were extraordinary, and the indications of his future perfections as fair and legible as yet I ever saw, or read of, in one so young. You have, sir, heard so much of this, that I may say it with the less crime and suspicion. And indeed his whole life was, from the beginning, so great a miracle, that it were hard to exceed in the description of it; which I should here yet attempt, by summing up all the prodigies of it, and what a child at five years old (for he was little more) is capable of, had I not given you so many minute and particular accounts of it, by several expresses; when I mentioned these things with the greatest joy, which now I write with as much sorrow and amazement. But so it is, that it has pleased God to dispose of him; that blossom (fruit, rather

I may say) is fallen ; a six days' quotidian having deprived us of him ; an accident that has made so great a breach in all my contentments, as I do never hope to see repaired ; because we are not in this life to be fed with wonders : and I know you will hardly be able to support the affliction and the loss, who bear so great a part in everything that concerns me. But thus we must be reduced when God sees good, and I submit ; since I had therefore this blessing for a punishment, and that I might feel the effects of my great unworthiness. But I have begged of God that I might pay the fine here, and if to such belong the kingdom of heaven, I have one deposit there. The Lord gave, the Lord hath taken away, blessed be his name : since without that consideration it were impossible to support it."

Full twenty years after, he speaks of this "most dear child Richard," in his *Diary*, in terms of undiminished fondness and admiration.

Not a month after that sorrowful event, he had to note the death of another child. "Feb. 15.—The afflicting hand of God being still upon us, it pleased Him also to take away from us this morning my youngest son, George, now seven weeks languishing at nurse, breeding teeth, and ending in a dropsy. God's holy will be done !"

Mrs. Evelyn's distress was also manifested in her letters, in which she deplored the losses she had sustained "with the most affectionate tenderness which words can express." In the midst of these sorrows, how welcome were the following words of consolation from Jeremy Taylor :—

"Dear Sir,—If dividing and sharing griefs were like the cutting of rivers, I dare say to you you would find your stream much abated ; for I account myself to have a great cause of sorrow, not only in the diminution of the number of your joys and hopes, but in the loss of that

pretty person, your strange hopeful boy. I cannot tell all my own sorrows without adding to yours; and the causes of my real sadness in your loss are so just and so reasonable, that I can no otherwise comfort you but by telling you, that you have very great cause to mourn; so certain it is, that grief docs propagate, as fire does. You have enkindled my funeral torch, and by joining mine to yours, I do but increase the flame. But Sir, I cannot chuse but I must hold another and a brighter flame to you—it is already burning in your breast; and if I can but remove the dark side of the lanthorn, you have enough within you to warm yourself, and to shine to others. Remember, Sir, your two boys are two bright stars, and their innocence is secured, and you shall never hear evil of them again. Their state is safe, and heaven is given to them upon very easy terms, nothing but to be born and die. It will cost you more trouble to get where they are, and amongst others one of the hardnesses will be, that you must overcome even this just and reasonable grief; and indeed though the grief hath but too reasonable a cause, yet it is much more reasonable that you master it. For besides that they are no losers, but you are the person that complains, do but consider what you would [be willing to] have suffered for their interest: you [would] have suffered them to go from you, to be great princes in a strange country: and if you can be content to suffer your own inconvenience for their interest, you command your worthiest love, and the question of mourning is at an end. But you have said and done well when you look upon it as a rod of God: and he that so smites here, will spare hereafter. . . . If the brcach be never repaired, it is because God does not see it fit to be; and if you will be of his mind, it will be much the better. But, Sir, if you will pardon my zeal

and passion for your comfort, I will readily confess that you have no need of any discourse from me to comfort you. Sir, now you have an opportunity of serving God by passive graces: strive to be an example and a comfort to your lady, and by your wise counsel and comfort stand in the breaches of your own family, and make it appear that you are more to her than ten sons. Sir, by the assistance of Almighty God, I purpose to wait on you some time next week, that I may be a witness of your christian courage and bravery; and that I may see that God never displeases you, as long as the main stake is preserved, I mean your hopes and confidences of heaven. Sir, I shall pray for all that you can want; that is, some degrees of comfort, and a present mind; and shall always do you honour, and fain also would do you service, if it were in the power, as it is in the affections and desires of,

Dear Sir, your most affectionate
and obliged friend and servant,

“ Feb. 27, 1657-8.

JER. TAYLOR.”

The promised visit of consolation was very soon paid. We read in the *Diary*, “ Feb. 25.—Came Dr. Jeremy Taylor, and my brothers, with other friends, to visit, and condole with us.”

This afflictive event led him to undertake the translation of *The Golden Book of St. Chrysostom concerning the education of Children*, which he published in the same year, dedicating it to both his brothers, “ to comfort them on the loss of their children,” and giving in the preface an interesting account of his own amiable and promising boy.

The preceding passages from Mr. Evelyn's *Diary* and *Correspondence* are sufficient to prove the piety of his mind, his watchfulness, and his desire to grow in grace, and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

Even his chosen pleasures were amidst

Scenes form'd for contemplation, and to nurse
The growing seeds of wisdom ; that suggest,
By every pleasing image they present,
Reflections such as meliorate the heart,
Compose the passions, and exalt the mind.

A garden, (which Lord Bacon accounted the purest of human pleasures, and the greatest refreshment of the spirits of man,) was the favourite source of Evelyn's enjoyment. From boyhood he appears to have been attracted by beautiful gardens, and he describes those which he saw abroad as if he had visited them with great delight. He had lent his taste to his brother George in laying out the gardens at Wotton, and after his arrival at Sayes Court he commenced a course of improvements, which made his pleasure-grounds the subject of general admiration.

He found nothing there but a "rude orchard;" the rest of the estate was "one entire field of a hundred acres." His first step was to set out an "oval garden," which, he says, was "the beginning of all the succeeding gardens, walks, groves, enclosures, and plantations there." Soon after, he laid out an orchard; and in the course of time planted, as he writes, "every hedge and tree, not only in the gardens and groves, but about all the fields and house, since 1653; except those large, old, and hollow elms in the stable, court; for it was before all one pasture field to the very garden of the house, which was but small. From which time also I repaired the ruined house, and built the whole end of the kitchen, the chapel, buttery, my study above and below, cellars, and all the outhouses and walls, still-house, orangery, and made the gardens &c. to my great cost; and better I had done to have pulled all down at first, but it was done at several times."

The principles of ornamental gardening, which now give beauty to our country villas, were not understood in those times. Art had not yet been placed under the tuition of Nature, but the taste of the English, (agreeing with that of the Italians and French,) was pleased with long strait walks, and flower-beds cut out in corresponding figures, —round, square, and oval,—with evergreens cut into fantastic shapes, and clipt hedges to form the boundary. “Milton alone,” says Horace Walpole, “seems, with the prophetic eye of taste, to have conceived, to have foreseen, modern gardening. . . . The vigour of a boundless imagination told him how a plan might be disposed that would embellish nature, and restore art to its proper office, the just improvement or imitation of nature.” Describing Eden, he speaks of the river which “with many a rill” watered the garden, and fed

Flowers worthy of Paradise, which *not nice Art*
In beds and curious knots, but Nature boon
 Pour'd forth!

The poet goes on to draw it as a place “of various view,” in which “lawns or level downs were interposed” amidst the “groves of rich trees,” with caves

Of cool recess, o'er which the mantling vine
 Lays forth her purple grape, and gently creeps
 Luxuriant.

Less beautiful far, because less natural, was the garden at Sayes Court, which Evelyn doubtless laid out with formal flower-borders, alleys and terraces, mounds and fountains, in a style similar to that at Wotton, of which he has left a drawing, of the date of 1653, not long after he had employed himself in improving and embellishing it.*

We must not suppose, however, that he was insensible to the beauty of the natural landscape, for many notes

* An engraving from this drawing is given in his *Memoirs*, 4to. vol. ii. p. 94.

might be quoted from his *Diary*, to show that he was not blind to the beauty of picturesque scenery.

Mr. Evelyn speaks of the pursuits of a gardener as being "furnished with the most innocent, laudable, and purest of earthly felicities;" and the poet Cowley said of him, that he knew no person who enjoyed more happiness in a garden. It was at Sayes Court that he tried those plans for the cultivation of plants and flowers, and made those observations, which he published in his *Gardener's Almanac*, and *French Gardener*. There he studied the natures of the "trees of noblest kind for sight, smell, taste," collecting with patient care the materials for his *Sylva, or a Discourse on Forest Trees*. The orchard afforded him the means of making experiments in the culture of fruit-trees, the subject of his *Pomona*. And, after the example of Solomon, who while he "wrote of the cedar of Libanus, wrote also of the hyssop which grows upon the wall," he did not despise the employments of the kitchen garden, but condescended to write *A Discourse on Salads*.

Amidst these pursuits, his piety appreciated the wisdom and goodness which had filled the earth with these riches. "It is," he says, "a transporting consideration, to think that the infinitely wise and glorious Author of nature has given to plants such astonishing properties: such fiery heat in some to warm and cherish; such coolness in others to temper and refresh; such pinguid juice in others, to nourish and feed the body; such quickening acids to compel the appetite, and grateful vehicles to court the obedience of the palate; such vigour, to support and renew our natural strength; such ravishing flavour and perfumes, to recreate and delight us; in short, such spirituous and active force to animate and revive every faculty and part, to all the kinds of human, and I had almost said, heavenly capacity too."

The labours of the "busy bee" added to the interests of Mr. Evelyn's garden, and he was one of the first persons who made use of the ingenious contrivance of a glass hive, of which one was given to him at Oxford, in 1654, by "that most obliging and universally curious Dr. Wilkins." Mr. Pepys, who speaks of Evelyn's garden as "a most beautiful place," and "a lovely, noble ground," notices, "among other rarities, a hive of bees, so as being hived in glass, you may see the bees making their honey and combs mighty pleasantly." The ponds were stocked with fish; and he kept a tortoise, which he mentions as "a kind of plant-animal."

All these sources of ever-fresh interest diffused a charm over a country life, and called forth his highest commendations of "gardens and rural employments." He remembered with pleasure how many men of renown had preferred these quiet pursuits to "the pomp and grandeur of other secular business." "Of such we have it recorded," he triumphantly exclaims, "that after they had performed the noblest exploits for the public, they sometimes changed their sceptres for the spade, and their purple for the gardener's apron. And of these, some were emperors, kings, consuls, dictators, and wise statesmen, who, amidst the most important affairs, both in peace and war, have quitted all their pomp and dignity in exchange for this learned pleasure,—not that of the most refined part of agriculture (the philosophy of the garden and parterre only), but of herbs and wholesome salads, and other plain and useful parts of husbandry, and wrote books of tillage; and took the plough-tackle for their banner, and their names from the grain and pulse they sowed, as the marks and characters of the highest honour." He also observed with evident satisfaction,—“It is remarkable that after all that wise Solomon had said, that all was vanity and vexation

of spirit, among so many particulars which he reckons up, he should be altogether silent and say nothing concerning husbandry, as doubtless considering it the most useful, innocent, and laudable employment of our life, requiring those who cultivate the ground to live in the country, remote from city luxury, and the temptation to the vices he condemns."

Other pursuits employed him in his library, where he passed many hours in pleasing study and research. The Fine Arts frequently engaged his attention. Pictures had been amongst the principal objects of interest in his foreign tour; and now, during the interval comprised in this chapter, he enquired into the history and early state of painting and engraving, both of which he occasionally practised. He also employed himself in collecting and writing upon coins and medals; and in their turns, architecture, mechanics, chemistry, and optics, afforded an agreeable variety in his studious occupations. Within the same period he commenced a *Book of Trades*, on a very large scale, the plan of which he had formed in his travels, and now made considerable collections for it; this work, however, was never completed. Being well versed in ancient and modern languages, he also in this early part of his life made and published several translations.

If a doubt could exist as to his love of retirement and rural repose, it would be occasioned by his answer to sir George Mackenzie's panegyric on *Solitude*, in which Evelyn takes the opposite part, and gives the preference to public employment and an active life; but he afterwards wrote to Cowley, assuring him that this was only a playful essay, and that he "neither was, nor could be serious" in what he had written.

Evelyn's love of study and retirement gave birth to a singular scheme for erecting a "philosophic mathematic

college." "Often," says Mr. D'Israeli,* "has the literary character, amidst the busied delights of study sighed to bid 'a farewell sweet' to the turbulence of society. It was not discontent nor any undervaluing of general society, but the pure enthusiasm of the library, which once induced the studious Evelyn to sketch a retreat of this nature, which he addressed to his friend the illustrious Boyle. He proposed to form a college, where persons of the same turn of mind might enjoy the pleasure of agreeable society, and at the same time pass their days without care or interruption." He declared that if he had been a single person, and without family, he would without hesitation have dedicated his fortune to the raising such a college as he proposed; and that even in his present circumstances, he was willing to bear half the charges. To all this he added, that he had no particular cause of discontent, being with respect to his circumstances perfectly easy, happy, and satisfied in his family; well respected in the world; and in all things as free from the necessity of looking for such a retreat, exclusive of his own inclination, as any gentleman whatever.

It is pleasing to observe the care about religion which he manifests in the details of his plan. There was to be a well qualified chaplain, maintained at the public charge; prayers were to be offered up in the chapel every morning and evening; a weekly fast was to be observed; and the communion to be celebrated "once every fortnight, or month at least." On the Restoration, however, some changes in Evelyn's condition occurred, and we hear no more of his scheme for a literary and scientific retreat.

His wife was to have been admitted into this learned abode; for he was too good a man to permit such a design to interfere with his social duties. Besides this, her

* In *The Literary Character illustrated by the History of Men of Genius*.

tastes were accordant with his own. She “shared his pleasures and his heart;” she was the chosen companion of his studies; her talent for painting secured his praise and adorned his works; she bore her part in the cultivation of their celebrated garden; and doubtless, in the winter’s evening, his book was

Not sullenly perused
In selfish silence, but imparted oft
As aught occur’d that she might smile to hear,
Or turn to nourishment, digested well.

Amidst these advantages she modestly and sensibly remarked;—“Though I have lived under the roof of the learned, and in the neighbourhood of science, it has had no other effect on such a temper as mine but that of admiration; and that too only when it is reduced to practice.”

Mr. Evelyn’s fortune probably amounted to about six hundred pounds a-year; at least that was his expenditure in 1650, and we may infer from his general prudence and integrity that his income did not fall short of that sum. His house, if we may judge from a small sketch contained in his own plan of Deptford, was moderate in size, had three pointed gables in front, with the door in the centre, a large mullioned window on each side of it, three windows of like character on the floor above, and attics at the top.

To this sketch of his tastes, habits, and pleasures, we may be excused for adding, a little out of due order, the description given by a noble visiter, and the gratulations of a poetic friend. “The lord keeper Guildford was once invited,” says his biographer, “to a philosophical meal, at the house of Mr. Evelyn at Deptford. The house was low, but elegantly set off with ornaments and quaint mottoes at most turns; but above all his garden was exquisite, being most bocaresque, and as it were an exemplar of his book of *Forest Trees*. They appeared all so thriving and clean, that in so much variety, no one could be

satiated in viewing; and to these were added plenty of ingenious discourses, which made the time short." The lines of Cowley represent him as having great cause for thankfulness to the goodness of God.

" Happy art thou whom God does bless
With the full choice of thine own happiness ;
And happier yet because thou 'rt bless'd
With prudence how to choose the best.
In books and gardens thou hast plac'd aright
Thy noble innocent delight ;
And in thy virtuous wife, where thou again dost meet
Both pleasures, more refined and sweet ;
The fairest garden in her looks,
And in her mind the wisest books.
O who would change these soft yet solid joys
For empty shows and senseless noise,
And all which rank ambition breeds,
Which seem such beauteous flowers, and are such pois'nous weeds."

Mr. Evelyn's attachment to the monarchy was rather confirmed than diminished by the course which events took, between the violent death of king Charles the first, and the restoration of his son to the throne. Through sir Richard Browne, who still resided in Paris, he "gave intelligence constantly to his majesty abroad," and although his connexion must have been known, and his correspondence suspected, it does not appear that he met with any interruption from the government. After the death of Cromwell he looked with the greatest apprehension at the state of public affairs. He noted in his *Diary*, April 25, 1659,—“The new protector Richard slighted; several pretenders and parties strive for the government; all anarchy and confusion. Lord have mercy on us!” In May, 29th, he wrote,—“The nation was now in extreme confusion and unsettled, between the armies and the sectaries, the poor church of England breathing as it were her last, so sad a face of things had overspread us.”

Again in October, he observed,—“The army now turned out the parliament. We had now no government in the nation; all in confusion; no magistrate either owned or pretended but the soldiers, and they not agreed. God Almighty have mercy on, and settle us!”

In this state of miserable disorder, the best prospect of peace appeared in the hope of the restoration of the royal family; and to effect this, Evelyn's loyalty was called into active service. In November, he says, “was published my bold *Apology for the King*, in this time of danger, when it was capital either to speak or write for him. It was twice printed, so universally it took.” Soon after he wrote, upon a sick-bed, another paper which was of great service to the king, entitled, *The late News or Message from Brussels unmasked*, being an answer to a pamphlet which spoke evil of the king.

Concerning the former of these publications Jeremy Taylor wrote thus to him from Ireland; — “Sir, the *Apology* you were pleased to send me I both read privately, and heard it read publicly with no little pleasure and satisfaction. The materials are worthy, the dress is clean, orderly, and beauteous; and I wish that all men in the nation were obliged to read it twice; it is impossible but it must do good to those guilty persons, to whom it is not impossible to repent.”

Evelyn further promoted the cause which he had at heart, by private communications with several influential persons; he watched with joy the progress of affairs towards the accomplishment of his wishes; it was illness alone which prevented him from accompanying lord Berkeley with the parliamentary address which invited the king to return; and with unspeakable delight he hailed the entry of king Charles the second into London, and witnessed the tokens of universal gladness. “I stood in the Strand,” he says, “and beheld it and blessed God.”

CHAPTER III.

"SYLVA" AND OTHER WORKS. — PUBLIC EMPLOYMENTS. —
ACCOUNT OF THE GREAT FIRE OF LONDON.

He that delights to plant and set,
Makes after ages in his debt.

When I behold the havoc and the spoil
Which (ev'n within the compass of my days)
Is made thro' every quarter of this isle,
In woods and groves, which were this kingdom's praise;
And when I mind with how much greediness
We seek the present gain in everything;
Not caring (so our lust we may possess)
What damage to posterity we bring,
They do, methinks, as if they did foresee
That some of those whom they have cause to hate
Should come in future times their heirs to be;
Or else, why should they such things perpetrate?
For if they think their children shall succeed,
Or can believe that they begot their heirs,
They could not, surely, do so frail a deed
As to deface the land that should be theirs.
What our forefathers planted, we destroy:
Nay, all men's labours, living heretofore,
And all our own we lavishly employ
To serve our present lusts, and for no more.
But let these careless wasters learn to know
That, as vain spoil is open injury,
So planting is a debt they truly owe,
And ought to pay, to their posterity.
Self-love for none but for itself doth care,
And only for the present taketh pain;
But charity for others doth prepare,
And joys in that which future time shall gain.
If after ages may my labours bless,
I care not much how little I possess.

WITHERS'S *Emblems*, Anno 1635.

AFTER the restoration, Mr. Evelyn was occasionally drawn out of his privacy, and his studious habits were interrupted by public employments. Going to court to testify his joy and loyalty, a few days after the king's return, he was "very graciously received," and Charles

was "pleased to own him more particularly, calling him his old acquaintance."

Soon after that event, he was offered to be made a Knight of the Bath. This honour, however, he declined; but in 1662 he accepted an appointment to be one of the commissioners for reforming the buildings, ways, streets, and incumbrances, and regulating hackney-coaches in London. This was an occupation by no means unsuitable to his taste and genius. In the same year he was chosen, with some other gentlemen, to inquire into the conduct of the lord mayor and the Mercers' Company, with regard to the management of sir Thomas Gresham's charities.

He still, however, loved the retirement of Sayes Court, and the pursuits which he had been accustomed to follow there; and now, on the restoration of the monarchy, he thought it a favourable time for awakening in the nation a taste for the fine arts and polite literature, which had been of late years sadly neglected. Already he had presented to the public the fruits of his observation and experience in planting and gardening, in the hope of repairing the devastations of the preceding times; and now he proceeded to finish his treatises on architecture, painting, engraving, libraries, and medals, hoping that a love for the arts of peace might succeed the disquietude of civil dissension. "I confess," he says, in a letter written many years after, "I am foolishly fond of these and other rustications, which had been my sweet diversions during the days of destruction and devastation both of woods and buildings which lasted so long in this nation."

In 1661 he published his *Instructions concerning the erecting of a Library*; also a pamphlet entitled *Fumifugium*, in which he proposes that a certain composition should be used for fuel, as a means of purifying London from smoke. In the same year he sent out a satire on

the fashions, called *Tyrannus*, or the *Mode*, in which he "took occasion to describe the comeliness and usefulness of the Persian clothing."

Next year appeared his *Sculptura*, a treatise on the art of engraving, containing also "an ample enumeration of the most renowned masters and their works," and (by permission of prince Rupert the inventor) an account of "the new way of graving called mezzo tinto," which had recently been discovered, and was first made public by this work. Accident was the parent of this, as well as of many other useful and elegant inventions. "A German soldier," says Evelyn, "espying some scrape on the barrel of his musket, and being of an ingenious spirit, refined upon it, till it produced the effects you have seen." This book he wrote at the very earnest request of his illustrious friend, the honourable Robert Boyle. In the preface he highly commends the zeal of that excellent person in "cultivating the sciences and advancing useful knowledge," and deplores the "trifling and illiberal rewards" extended to artists and men of erudition. "If a quarter of that which is thrown away," he says, "upon base and vicious gallantries and impertinent follies, were employed in the encouragement of arts, and promotion of science, how illustrious and magnificent would this age be, how glorious and infinitely happy! We complain of the times present,—'tis we that make them bad; we admire the former,—'tis the effect of our ignorance only; which is yet more criminal, in that we have had their examples to instruct, and have made them to reproach us. Pardon this indignation of ours, O ye that love virtue and cultivate the sciences!"

In 1664 he published his famous work, *Sylva*, or a *Discourse of Forest Trees, and the Propagation of Timber in his Majesty's Dominions*. In a letter written in the

latter part of his life, he gives the following account of the origin of this treatise :—"When many years ago I came from rambling abroad, observed a little there, and since I came home a great deal more than gave me much satisfaction, and (as events have proved) scarce worth one's pursuit, I cast about how I should employ the time which hangs on most young men's hands, to the best advantage ; and when books and severer studies grew tedious, and other impertinence would be pressing, by what innocent diversions I might sometimes relieve myself without compliance to recreations I took no felicity in, because they did not contribute to any improvement of the mind. This set me upon planting trees, and brought forth my *Sylva*."

He introduced the subject to his readers as one which had interested some of the greatest men of ancient times, who "did not disdain to cultivate these rusticities, even with their own hands." Such a spirit he wished to diffuse amongst the land-owners of his country, in order that they might enrich and adorn their estates with timber, which had been so much neglected and laid waste during the late troubles ; he wished "that such woods as do yet remain entire might be carefully preserved, and such as are destroyed, sedulously repaired." He thought that "there was nothing which seemed more fatally to threaten a weakening, if not a dissolution, of the strength of this famous and flourishing nation, than the sensible and notorious decay of her wooden walls, when either through time, negligence, or other accident, the present navy should be worn out and impaired." He therefore rejoiced that the Commissioners of the Navy had suggested to the Royal Society, to enquire into the best means of correcting this daily increasing evil. "It has not been the late increase of shipping alone," he says,

“ the multiplication of glass-works, iron furnaces, and the like, from whence this impolitic diminution of our timber has proceeded ; but from the disproportionate spreading of our tillage, caused through that prodigious havoc made by such as lately professing themselves against *root and branch*, were tempted not only to fell and cut down, but utterly to extirpate, demolish, and raze, as it were, all those many goodly woods and forests which our more prudent ancestors left standing, for the ornament and service of their country. And this devastation is now become so epidemical, that unless some favourable expedient offer itself, and a way be seriously and speedily resolved upon for a future store, one of the most glorious and considerable bulwarks of this nation will, within a short time, be totally wanting to it.”

This work treats of the culture, qualities, and uses of “all sorts of trees,” and is enlivened with a variety of pertinent facts and anecdotes, which had occurred to the author in his reading and experience. It was eminently successful in producing the desired effects. “Infinitely beyond my expectations,” he says in the letter just quoted, “it has been the occasion of propagating many millions of useful timber-trees throughout this nation, as I may justify without immodesty, from the many letters of acknowledgment received from gentlemen of the first quality, and others altogether strangers to me. His majesty, Charles the second, was sometimes graciously pleased to take notice of it to me, and that I had, by that book alone, incited a world of planters to repair their broken estates and woods, which the greedy rebels had wasted and made such havoc of.”

Ere this time, the trees planted under the immediate influence of his book have, doubtless, been most of them

cut down ; but he opened the eyes of the nation to the importance of keeping up their woods and groves ; and as an elegant writer (Mr. D'Israeli) observes, " while Britain retains her awful situation among the nations of Europe, the *Sylva* of Evelyn will endure with her triumphant oaks. . . . It was an author," he adds, " in his studious retreat, who, casting a prophetic eye on the age we live in, secured the late victories of our naval sovereignty. Inquire at the Admiralty how the fleets of Nelson have been constructed, and they can tell you that it was with the oaks which the genius of Evelyn planted."

After he had thus "endeavoured the improvement of timber and the planting of trees," he next proceeded to the building and decoration of houses, and in the same year published his *Parallel of the Ancient Architecture with the Modern*, being a translation and arrangement of the opinions of ten eminent foreign authors, who had written on the subject, in French, Latin, or Italian. This work was also in high repute, and many editions of it were sold in the author's lifetime. To his knowledge of architecture we may attribute his subsequent appointment to be a commissioner for the repair of St. Paul's cathedral, shortly before the great fire in 1666.

In the same year also, 1664, he translated and published a work exposing some of the misdeeds of the *Jesuits* in France ; and likewise his *Kalendarium Hortense, or the Gardener's Almanack, directing what he is to do monthly throughout the Year, and what Fruits and Flowers are in prime*. This volume was dedicated to the poet Cowley, who soon acknowledged it in an essay of mixed prose and verse, entitled *The Garden* ; in which he speaks of himself as partaking of his friend's love of rural pursuits :—

"The birds that dance from bough to bough,
 And sing above in every tree,
 Are not from fears and cares more free
 Than we who lie or walk below,
 And should by right be singers too.
 What prince's quire of music can excel
 That which within this shade does dwell?
 To which we nothing pay or give:
 They, like all other poets, live
 Without reward or thanks for their obliging pains!"

"By such publications," says Mr. Evelyn, "I endeavoured to do my countrymen some little service in as natural an order as I could, for the improving and adorning their estates and dwellings, and if possible make them in love with these useful and innocent pleasures, in exchange of a wasteful and ignoble sloth, which, I had observed, so universally corrupted an ingenuous education."

The *Sylva* was originally a paper read to the Royal Society, and was the first work published by their desire. His treatise on engraving was also printed at the request of the same learned body, when they met privately, before their charter was granted to them in 1662 by Charles the second. He was one of the first promoters, and an original member of that important institution, and was more than once invited to take the office of president; an honour, however, which he declined. He defended the society from many foolish prejudices which assailed it in its infancy, was assiduous in his attendance at its meetings, diligent in procuring authentic intelligence from various quarters, and in many of his works warmly recommended it to the public support and regard.

It was in the year 1664 that Mr. Evelyn was appointed one of the "Commissioners for the Sick and Wounded" in the Dutch war, an office which he also held in the

second war with Holland. This was a very laborious and distressing employment, and there were some circumstances which rendered it peculiarly painful at that time. Almost the whole labour was in his department, which included all the ports between the river Thames and Portsmouth; he had to travel in all seasons and weathers, both by land and water, in the performance of his duty; and worst of all, the government withheld from him the means of adequately relieving the necessities of the miserable objects of his care, and administering to their comfort. Some of his letters to officers of state are still extant, in which he laments in the strongest terms the wretchedness which might have been alleviated, and at a comparatively small expense. At one time the arrears of payment to the victuallers were so great that when a party of sick and wounded were landed, they lay some time in the streets, because the publicans refused to receive them, and shut up their houses.

The plague added to these miseries; and his letters at this dreadful period bespeak the strongest feelings of commiseration for the suffering defenders of his country. "One fortnight," he says, "has made me feel the utmost of miseries that can befall a person in my station, and with my affections. To have twenty-five thousand prisoners, and fifteen hundred sick and wounded men to take care of, without one penny of money, and above 2000*l.* indebted." He also begs, that whilst he and his brother commissioners "adventure their persons, and all that is dear to them, in this uncomfortable service, they may not be exposed to ruin, and to a necessity of abandoning their care. They have lost their officers and servants by the pestilence, and are hourly environed with the saddest objects of perishing people." In another letter, he thus complains;—"It were to betray his Majesty's gracious

intentions, and even his honour, to extenuate here. Sir William D'Oily and myself have near ten thousand upon our care, while there seems to be no care of us, who, having lost all our servants, officers, and most necessary assistants, have nothing more left us to expose but our persons, which, by our daily conversation, are every moment at the mercy of a raging pestilence, and an unreasonable multitude, if such they may be called, who, having adventured their lives for the public, perish for their reward, and die like dogs in the street unregarded." "Our prisoners beg at us, as a mercy, to knock them on the head, for we have no bread to relieve the dying creatures. I beseech your honour let us not be reputed barbarians, or, if at last we must be so, let me not be the executor of so much inhumanity, when the price of one good subject's life is rightly considered of more value than the wealth of the Indies."

In the execution of this painful office, having seen the great inconvenience of distributing the sick and wounded in private houses, he used all his influence to procure an infirmary to be founded for seamen, and eventually, though after much delay, succeeded.

In 1665 the plague made its appearance in London. It is noted in Mr. Evelyn's *Diary* on the 16th of July:—"There died of the plague in London this week, 1100, and in the week following, above 2000. Two houses were shut up in our parish." In the beginning of the next month he sent his son to Wotton, "for fear of the pestilence;" and soon after he says:—"The contagion still increasing, and growing now all about us, I sent my wife and whole family (two or three necessary servants excepted) to my brother's at Wotton, being resolved to stay at my house myself, and to look after my charge (of the sick and wounded), trusting in the

providence and goodness of God." In September the mortality increased in London to ten thousand weekly, and Evelyn passing through the city, observes, that it was "a dismal passage and dangerous, to see so many coffins exposed in the streets, now thin of people; the shops shut up, and all in mournful silence, as not knowing whose turn might be next." Again in October:—"To London, and went through the whole city, having occasion to alight out of the coach in several places about business of money, when I was environed with multitudes of poor pestiferous creatures begging alms; the shops universally shut up; a dreadful prospect!"

Meanwhile the pestilence was doing its fearful work at Deptford. In September he writes:—"Near thirty houses are visited in this miserable village, whereof one has been the very nearest to my dwelling. After a servant of mine, now sick of a swelling which will terminate we know not where, behold me a living monument of God Almighty's protection and mercy. It was Saturday last ere my courageous wife would be persuaded to take the alarm; but she is now fled with most of my family; whilst my conscience, or something which I would have taken for my duty, obliges me to this sad station, till his Majesty take pity on me, and send me a considerable refreshment for the comfort of these poor creatures, the sick and wounded seamen under mine inspection, through all the ports of my district. For mine own particular, I am resolved to do my duty as far as I am capable, and trust God with the event; but the second causes should cooperate."

On the last day of the year he poured out the gratitude of his heart for past protection in the following terms: "Now, blessed be God for his extraordinary mercies

and preservation of me this year, when thousands and ten thousands perished, and were swept away on each side of me, there dying in our parish this year, four hundred and six of the pestilence!" On the 6th of the following February the plague appeared to be stayed, and his wife and family returned to Sayes Court. "Blessed be God," he says, "for his infinite mercy in preserving us! I have gone through so much danger, and lost so many of my poor officers, escaping still myself, that I might live to recount and magnify his goodness to me." Deptford, however, was afterwards "more infected with the plague than ever," and the disease continued its ravages till the autumn.

London was spared from a return of that destructive malady; but the chastening hand of God still rested upon that city. The fire of London added to the warnings and chastisements already inflicted, and called upon the nation to repent. Of that fearful visitation Evelyn was an eyewitness, and perhaps no finer description of it can be produced than that which he gives in his journal.

"1666, 2 *Sept.*—This fatal night about ten, began that deplorable fire near Fish-street, in London.

"3.—I had public prayers at home. The fire continuing after dinner, I took coach with my wife and son and went to the Bankside in Southwark, where we beheld that dismal spectacle, the whole city in dreadful flames near the water side; all the houses from the bridge, all Thames-street, and upwards towards Cheapside, down to the Three Cranes, were now consumed: and so returned exceeding astonished what would become of the rest.

"The fire having continued all this night, (if I may call that night which was light as day for ten miles round about, after a dreadful manner,) when conspiring with a

fierce eastern wind, in a very dry season; I went on foot to the same place, and saw the whole south part of the city burning from Cheapside to the Thames, and all along Cornhill (for it likewise kindled back against the wind as well as forward), Tower-street, Fenchurch-street, Gracious-street, and so along Bainard's castle, and was now taking hold of St. Paul's church, to which the scaffolds contributed exceedingly.

“ The conflagration was so universal, and the people so astonished, that from the beginning, I know not by what despondency or fate, they hardly stirred to quench it, so that there was nothing heard or seen but crying out and lamentation, running about like distracted creatures, without at all attempting to save even their goods, such a strange consternation there was upon them, so as it burned both in breadth and length, the churches, public halls, exchange, hospitals, monuments, and ornaments, leaping after a prodigious manner from house to house, and street to street, at great distances one from the other; for the heat, with a long set of fair and warm weather, had even ignited the air, and prepared the materials to conceive the fire, which devoured after an incredible manner, houses, furniture, and every thing. Here we saw the Thames covered with goods floating, all the barges and boats laden with what some had time and courage to save, —as, on the other, the carts, &c. carrying out to the fields, which for many miles were strewed with moveables of all sorts, and tents erected to shelter both people, and what goods they could get away. Oh the miserable and calamitous spectacle! such as haply the world had not seen the like since the foundation of it, nor will be outdone till the universal conflagration of it. All the sky was of a fiery aspect, like the top of a burning oven, and the light seen above forty miles round about, for many

nights. God grant mine eyes may never behold the like, who now saw above 10,000 houses all in one flame; the noise, and cracking, and thunder of the impetuous flames, the shrieking of women and children, the hurry of people, the fall of towers, houses and churches, was like an hideous storm, and the air all about so hot and inflamed, that at the last one was not able to approach it, so that they were forced to stand still and let the flames burn on, which they did for near two miles in length, and one in breadth. The clouds also of smoke were dismal, and reached upon computation near fifty miles in length. Thus I left it this afternoon burning, a resemblance of Sodom, or the last day. It forcibly called to my mind that passage—*We have here no abiding city*; the ruins resembling the picture of Troy. London was, but is no more! Thus I returned.

“*Sept. 4.*—The burning still rages, and it was now gotten as far as the Inner Temple; all Fleet-street, the Old Bailey, Ludgate-hill, Warwick-lane, Newgate, Paul’s chain, Watling-street, now flaming, and most of it reduced to ashes; the stones of Paul’s, flew like granados, the melting lead running down the streets in a stream, and the very pavements glowing with fiery redness, so as no horse or man was able to tread on them, and the demolition had stopped all the passages, so that no help could be applied. The eastern wind still more impetuously driving the flames forward. Nothing but the Almighty power of God was able to stop them, for vain was the help of man.

“*5.*—It crossed towards Whitehall; but oh, the confusion there was then at court! It pleased his majesty to command me, among the rest, to look after the quenching of Fetter-lane end, to preserve if possible that part of Holborn, whilst the rest of the gentlemen took

their several posts, some at one part, some at another, (for now they began to bestir themselves, and not till now, who hitherto had stood as men intoxicated, with their hands across,) and began to consider that nothing was likely to put a stop, but the blowing up of so many houses as might make a wider gap than any had yet been made by the ordinary method of pulling them down with engines. This some stout seamen proposed early enough to have saved near the whole city, but this some tenacious and avaricious men, aldermen, &c. would not permit, because their houses must have been the first. It was therefore now commanded to be practised, and my concern being particularly for the hospital of St. Bartholomew near Smithfield, where I had many wounded and sick men, made me the more diligent to promote it; nor was my care for the Savoy less. It now pleased God, by abating the wind, and by the industry of the people,—when almost all was lost infusing a new spirit into them,—that the fury of it began sensibly to abate about noon, so as it came no farther than the Temple westward, nor than the entrance of Smithfield north: but continued all this day and night, so impetuous toward Cripplegate and the Tower, as made us all despair; it also brake out again in the Temple, but the courage of the multitude persisting, and many houses being blown up, such gaps and desolations were soon made, as with the former three days' consumption, the back fire did not so vehemently urge upon the rest as formerly. There was yet no standing near the burning and glowing ruins by near a furlong's space.

“The coal and wood wharfs, and magazines of oil, rosin, &c. did infinite mischief, so as the invective [*Pumifugium*] which a little before I had dedicated to his majesty, and published,—giving warning what might pro-

bably be the issue of suffering those shops to be in the city,—was looked on as a prophecy.

“The poor inhabitants were dispersed about St. George’s Fields, and Moorfields as far as Highgate, and several miles in circle, some under tents, some under miserable huts and hovels, many without a rag or any necessary utensils, bed or board, who from delicateness, riches, and easy accommodations in stately and well-furnished houses, were now reduced to extremest misery and poverty.

“In this calamitous condition I returned with a sad heart to my house, blessing and adoring that distinguishing mercy of God to me and mine, who in the midst of all this ruin was like Lot, in my little Zoar, safe and sound.

“*Sept. 7.*—I went this morning on foot from Whitehall as far as London bridge, through the late Fleetstreet, Ludgate-hill, by St. Paul’s, Cheapside, Exchange, Bishopsgate, Aldersgate, and out to Moorfields, thence through Cornhill, &c. with extraordinary difficulty, clambering over heaps of yet smoking rubbish, and frequently mistaking where I was; the ground under my feet so hot, that it even burnt the soles of my shoes. In the mean time his majesty got to the Tower by water, to demolish the houses about the graff, which being built entirely about it, had they taken fire and attacked the White Tower where the magazine of powder lay, would undoubtedly not only have beaten down and destroyed all the bridge, but sunk and torn the vessels in the river, and rendered the demolition beyond all expression for several miles about the country.

“At my return I was infinitely concerned to find that goodly church St. Paul’s now a sad ruin, and that beautiful portico (for structure comparable to any in Europe,

as not long before repaired by the late king,) now rent in pieces, flakes of vast stone split asunder, and nothing remaining entire but the inscription in the architrave, shewing by whom it was built, which had not one letter of it defaced. It was astonishing to see what immense stones the heat had in a manner calcined, so that all the ornaments, columns, friezes, capitals, and projectures of massy Portland stone flew off, even to the very roof, where a sheet of lead covering a great space (no less than 6 acres by measure) was totally melted; the ruins of the vaulted roof falling, broke into St. Faith's, which being filled with the magazines of books belonging to the Stationers, and carried thither for safety, they were all consumed, burning for a week following. It is also observable that the lead over the altar at the east end was untouched, and among the divers monuments, the body of one bishop remained entire. Thus lay in ashes that most venerable church, one of the most ancient pieces of early piety in the christian world, besides near a hundred more. The lead, iron-work, bells, plate, &c. melted; the exquisitely wrought Mercers' chapel, the sumptuous Exchange, the august fabric of Christ Church, all the rest of the Companies' halls, splendid buildings, arches, entries, all in dust; the fountains dried up and ruined, whilst the very waters remained boiling; the voragos of subterranean cellars, wells, and dungeons, formerly warehouses, still burning in stench and dark clouds of smoke, so that in five or six miles traversing about, I did not see one load of timber unconsumed, nor many stones but what were calcined white as snow. The people who now walked about the ruins appeared like men in some dismal desert, or rather in some great city laid waste by a cruel enemy; to which was added the stench that came from some poor creatures' bodies, beds, and other combustible goods. Sir Tho.

Gresham statue, though fallen from its niche in the Royal Exchange, remained entire, when all those of the kings since the Conquest were broken to pieces; also the standard in Cornhill, and queen Elizabeth's effigies, with some arms on Ludgate, continued with but little detriment, whilst the vast iron chains of the city streets, hinges, bars, and gates of prisons, were many of them melted and reduced to cinders by the vehement heat. Nor was I yet able to pass through any of the narrower streets, but kept the widest; the ground and air, smoke and fiery vapour, continued so intense that my hair was almost singed, and my feet insufferably surbated [bruised]. The bye lanes and narrower streets were quite filled up with rubbish, nor could one have possibly known where he was, but by the ruins of some church or hall that had some remarkable tower or pinnacle remaining. I then went towards Islington and Highgate, where one might have seen 200,000 people of all ranks and degrees dispersed, and lying along by their heaps of what they could save from the fire, deploring their loss, and though ready to perish for hunger and destitution, yet not asking one penny for relief, which to me appeared a stranger sight than any I had yet beheld. His majesty and council indeed took all imaginable care for their relief, by proclamation for the country to come in, and refresh them with provisions. In the midst of all this calamity and confusion, there was, I know not how, an alarm begun that the French and Dutch, with whom we were now in hostility, were not only landed but even entering the city. There was, in truth, some days before, great suspicion of those two nations joining; and now, that they had been the occasion of firing the town. This report did so terrify, that on a sudden there was such an uproar and tumult that they ran from their goods, and

taking what weapons they could come at, they could not be stopped from falling on some of those nations whom they casually met, without sense or reason. The clamour and peril grew so excessive that it made the whole court amazed, and they did with infinite pains and great difficulty reduce and appease the people; sending troops of soldiers and guards to cause them to retire into the fields again, where they were watched all this night. I left them pretty quiet, and came home sufficiently weary and broken. Their spirits thus a little calmed, and the affright abated, they now began to repair into the suburbs about the city, where such as had friends or opportunity, got shelter for the present, to which his majesty's proclamation also invited them."

Mr. Evelyn looked upon these two calamities (and to these was added a third in the ill success of the Dutch war) as the visitations of an offended God upon the sins of the nation. Through the literary and scientific turn of the king, which made him desire the society of Evelyn, the latter had opportunities of seeing—and occasion for deploring—the corrupt manners and profligacy of the court, "which ought to have been an example of virtue to the rest of the kingdom." As he rode with Mr. Pepys that year, their conversation turned upon "the vanity and vices of the court, which made it a most contemptible thing;" and writing to another friend, he says, "God give the repentance of David to the sins of David; we have all added some weights to this burthen, ingratitude and luxury and the too, too soon oblivion of miracles." In an earlier part of his *Diary* he expresses a fear that "God's hand was against this ungrateful and vicious nation and court."

Under the immediate sense of these calamities, a day of general humiliation was appointed to be kept—"Oct. 10.

This day was ordered a general fast through the nation, to humble us on the late dreadful conflagration, added to the plague and war, the most dismal judgments that could be inflicted, but which indeed we highly deserved for our prodigious ingratitude, burning lusts, dissolute court, profane and abominable lives, under such dispensations of God's continued favour in restoring church, prince, and people, from our late intestine calamities, of which we were altogether unmindful, even to astonishment. This made me resolve to go to our parish assembly, where our Doctor preached on Luke xix. 41, piously applying it to the occasion. After which was a collection for the distressed losers in the late fire."

A letter which he wrote to his relative sir Samuel Tuke soon after the fire, has been preserved. The following extracts will be read with interest:—"I suppose I should have heard ere this from you of all your concernments, but impute your silence to some possible miscarriage of your letters, since the usual place of address is with the rest reduced to ashes, and made an heap of ruins. I would give you a more particular relation of this calamitous accident, but I should oppress you with sad stories, and I question not but they are come too soon amongst you at Paris, with all minuteness, and (were it possible) hyperboles. There is this yet of less deplorable in it,—That as it pleased God to order it, little effects of any great consequence have been lost besides the houses; nor do we hear of so much as one merchant that has failed. . . . The king and parliament are infinitely zealous for the rebuilding of our ruins; and I believe it will universally be the employment of the next spring. They are now busied with adjusting the claims of each proprietor, that so they may dispose things for the building after the noblest model.

Everybody brings in his idea, amongst the rest I presented to his majesty my own conceptions, with a discourse annexed. It was the second that was seen, within two days after the conflagration; but Dr. Wren, [afterwards sir Christopher] had got the start of me. Both of us did coincide so frequently, that his majesty was not displeased with it, and it caused divers alterations; and truly there was never a more glorious phoenix upon earth, if it do at last emerge out of these cinders, and as the design is laid, with the present fervour of the undertakers. But these things are as yet immature; and I pray God we may enjoy peace to encourage those fair dispositions. The miracle is, I have never in my life observed a more universal resignation, or less repining amongst sufferers, which makes me hope that God has yet thoughts of mercy towards us. Judgments do not always end where they begin, and therefore let none exult over our calamities; we know not whose turn it may be next. But, sir, I forbear to entertain you longer on these sad reflections."

CHAPTER IV.

MISCELLANEOUS OCCURRENCES TILL THE DEATH OF KING CHARLES THE SECOND.

Truth is not local; God alike pervades
And fills the world of traffic and the shades;
And may be fear'd amidst the busiest scenes,
Or scorn'd where business never intervenes.—COWPER.

THE principal incidents in Mr. Evelyn's life between the fire of London and the death of Charles the second may be related within a moderate compass.

The time which he could spare from his public avocations, was divided between his garden at Sayes Court, his literary friends, and his library. Constantly interrupted as he was by the morning visits of those whom his gardens or conversation attracted, he found it necessary to steal hours from his night's rest, in order to prosecute his studies. He says in a letter, written in 1668 ;—" I have treated mine eyes very ill, near these twenty years ; during all which time I have rarely put them together, or composed them to sleep, before one at night, and sometimes much later ; that I may in some sort redeem my losses by day, in which I am continually importuned with visits from my neighbours and acquaintance, or taken up by other impertinencies of my life in this place [Sayes Court]. I am plainly ashamed to tell you this, considering how little I have improved myself by it."

Of those whom he accounted his friends, it may be sufficient to say generally with one of his biographers, that they were " the greatest and most judicious men of those times." Being a frequent attendant at the meetings of the Royal Society, he had opportunities of cultivating the acquaintance of many persons of note, whose tastes and genius agreed with his own. He gave, and was in turn invited to literary entertainments ; and we frequently find him setting out with Lord Brounker, sir Robert Murray, bishop Wilkins, Mr. Boyle, sir Christopher Wren, and other " excellent persons and philosophers," to witness new inventions, and improvements in the several branches of science.

Piety and virtue were strong recommendations to his esteem ; and to his great honour his friendship was as warm in adversity as in prosperity. Lords Clarendon, Clifford, and Arlington, felt the constancy of his regard when their fortunes were on the wane ; and it is pleasing

to observe the satisfaction with which he dwells upon the better parts of their characters.

His conversation appears to have been seasoned with cheerfulness and pleasantry. Mr. Pepys relates that on one occasion he enjoyed an evening, "the most merry he ever spent in his life," in the company of Evelyn, who recited some humorous lines on the various uses of *may* and *can*, which made the whole party "die almost with laughing."

Through his influence with the honourable Henry Howard (afterwards sixth duke of Norfolk), that noble person was induced to present his very valuable library to the Royal Society, and to send his celebrated collection of ancient inscriptions to the university of Oxford, where they are known as the Arundelian marbles. Mr. Howard had "little inclination to books," and exposed them "to everybody, to carry away and dispose of what they pleased;" and the precious monuments which his magnificent grandfather, the illustrious earl of Arundel, had gathered with so much cost and industry from Greece, were "miserably neglected, and scattered up and down about the garden," where they were suffering great damage from the weather. Mr. Evelyn received the cordial thanks of each of the learned bodies to whose benefit he had thus contributed; the university sent a deputation to express their gratitude, and in 1669 conferred upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Civil Law.

In the year 1668 Evelyn published a translation, entitled *An Idea of the Perfection of Painting*, with a new preface, containing some of his own reflections. This work is now scarce, and has been greatly admired by the lovers of that beautiful art. He subsequently published *A History of Three late famous Impostors*; an account of

the *Origin and Progress of Navigation and Commerce*, which he undertook by the command of king Charles ;— *Terra, a philosophical Discourse on Earth and Vegetation* ; — *Numismata, a Discourse on Medals* ; and some works on *Gardening* ;—besides which, he revised and enlarged several of his former works, for new editions.

It is not surprising that his family should have imbibed the tastes which he was labouring to spread throughout the nation. His wife has been already described as busied with him in his study, skilled in the arts which her husband loved, and cultivating the garden which established his fame. A son also has been mentioned, whose dawning genius awakened hopes, which were only disappointed by his early death ; and the only surviving son gave fair promise to his father's ardent wishes. At an early age he was a "pleasant and most ingenious child, conquering difficulties with incredible industry, and capable beyond his years." He was educated at home, under his father's eye, and received the first rudiments of his education from Mr. Edward Philips, the nephew of Milton. Afterwards, he was for some years under the care of Mr. Bohun, who attended him in due time to Oxford, still superintending his studies. At the age of fifteen young Evelyn wrote a short Greek poem of some merit, which was prefixed to the second edition of the *Sylva* ; and at eighteen he translated and published Rapin's *Gardens*, a portion of which also was usually printed in the subsequent editions of *Sylva*. He lived to distinguish himself by several other publications.

Mr. Bohun became an attached and esteemed friend of the family. He was "a learned person and excellent preacher," and Mr. Evelyn gladly availed himself of the first opportunity of appointing him to the living of Wotton. Mr. Bohun corresponded with Mrs. Evelyn, and left a

sketch of her character, which has happily been preserved, and from which many of the particulars contained in this memoir have been taken.

In 1671 Evelyn had the merit of rescuing from poverty and obscurity "that incomparable young man," Grinling Gibbons, the earliest British sculptor of eminence. He found him by accident in a "lonesome place" at Deptford; and struck with his genius and manners, became his earliest friend and patron. He introduced him to the notice of the king, and recommended him to sir Christopher Wren, who employed him to make the splendid carvings which adorn the interior of St. George's chapel at Windsor, and the choir of St. Paul's cathedral, as well as in decorating many other churches, and several of the mansions of the nobility and gentry. As a token that he remembered with gratitude the acts of kindness of which he was the object, he presented to Evelyn his own bust in wood; but unfortunately this work has perished.

Early in the same year Evelyn was made a Commissioner of Plantations, on the establishment of the board; and he appears to have been very active in the discharge of the duties imposed upon him by that appointment.

In the following spring he had to lament the death of Dr. Breton, the vicar of Deptford, upon whose piety and virtues he dwells with a melancholy pleasure. "Dr. Breton," he says, "had preached on the 28th and 30th of January; on the Friday, having fasted all day, making his provisionary sermon for the Sunday following, he went well to bed, but was taken suddenly ill, and expired before help could come to him. Never had a parish a greater loss, not only as he was an excellent preacher, and fitted for our great and humble auditory, but for his excellent life and charity, his meekness and obliging

nature, industrious, helpful, and full of good works. He left near 400*l.* to the poor in his will, and that what children of his should die in their minority, their portion should be so employed. I lost in particular a special friend, and one that had an extraordinary love to me and mine."

Mrs. Evelyn's character of this beloved pastor agrees with that of her husband. "Should I tell you," she writes to Mr. Bohun, "how full of sorrow I have been for the loss of Dr. Breton, you only would blame me. After death, flattery ceases; therefore you may believe there was some cause to lament, when thousands of weeping eyes witnessed the affliction their souls were in. One would have imagined that every one in this parish had lost a father, brother, or husband, so great was the bewailing; and in earnest it does appear there never was a better nor a more worthy man. Such was his temper, prudence, charity, and good conduct, that he gained the weak, and preserved the wise. The suddenness of his death was a surprise only to his friends; as for himself, it might be looked upon as a deliverance from pain, the effect of sickness; and I am almost persuaded God snatched him from us, lest He might have been prevailed with by the number of petitions, to have left him still amongst us. If you suspect that kindness in me makes me speak too much, Dr. Parr is a person against whom you cannot object; it was he who preached the funeral sermon, and as an effect of truth as well as eloquence, he himself could not forbear weeping in the pulpit. It was his own expression, that there were three for whom he had infinitely grieved, the martyred king, my lord primate (Usher), and Dr. Breton; and as a confirmation of the right that was done him in that oration, there was not a dry eye, nor a dissenting person."

A few days after the funeral, wishing to have "a grave and learned man" for the successor of his departed friend, Mr. Evelyn made interest with the patron to appoint Mr. Frampton (afterwards bishop of Gloucester), to the living, he being "not only a very pious and holy man, but excellent in the pulpit for moving the affections." Mr. Holden, however, was the new vicar of Deptford. "This gentleman," says Evelyn, "is a very excellent and universal scholar, a good and wise man; but he had not the popular way of preaching, nor is he in any measure fit for our plain and vulgar auditory, as his predecessor was. There was, however, no comparison betwixt their parts for profound learning; but time and experience may form him to a more practical way than that he is in of university lectures and erudition, which is now universally left off for what is much more profitable."

Notwithstanding the awful visitations by which the nation had been chastened, profligacy and impiety maintained their dominion over the court and people. Evelyn was grieved to witness "the horrid vice of gaming," in the highest sphere; and the licentious conduct which more resembled "a luxurious and abandoned rout, than a christian court." It also afflicted him, he says, to see the same open disregard of morality in the places of public amusement. The stage was "degenerated and polluted by the licentious times," and "abused to an atheistical liberty," and he considered that it contributed largely to the general degeneracy, impiety, and profligacy. He was not surprised that God should bring reverses and calamities upon a people which "minded nothing but luxury and ambition, and to procure money for our vices. To this add our irreligion and atheism, great ingratitude and self-interest, in a word, we are wanton, mad, surfeiting with prosperity; every moment

unsettling the old foundations, and never constant to anything. The Lord in mercy avert the sad omen, and that we do not provoke Him till He bear it no longer !” He contemplated with great sadness of heart the tendency of many of the publications issued during the reign of Charles the second. On one occasion, in 1682, we find him writing to Dr. Fell, bishop of Oxford, evidently under the most lively emotions, respecting a translation of the *Histoire Critique* of Father Simon, a work of most evil design, from the contents of which he said he could not easily “discover whether it were written by a papist, a socinian, a theist, or something of all three.” “For the love of God,” he exclaims, “let not our universities, my lord, remain silent. It is the cause of God and of our church ! Let it not be said your [professors’] chairs take no notice of a more pernicious plot than any that yet has alarmed us. Whilst everybody lets it alone, men think there is nothing to be said against it ; and it hugely prevails already, and you will be sensible of its progress when it is too late to take off the reproach. I most humbly therefore implore your reverend lordship to consider of it seriously, that the pens and the chairs may openly, and on all occasions, assert and defend the common cause, and that Oxford may have the honour of appearing first in the field. For from whom, my lord, should we expect relief, if not from you, the fathers of the church, and the schools of the prophets ? My lord, he who makes bold to transmit this to your lordship, though he be no man of the church, is yet a son of the church, and greatly concerned for her ; and though he be not learned, he converses much with books, and men that are as well at court as in town and the country, and thinks it his duty to give your lordship an account of what he hears and sees, and is expected and called for from you, who

are the superintendents and watchmen whom Christ has set over his church and appointed to take care of his flock 'Tis not, my lord, sufficient to have beaten down the head of the hydra once, but, as often as they rise, to use the club, though the same weapon be used, the same thing repeated; it refreshes the faint, and resolves the doubtful, and stirs up the slothful, and is what our adversaries continually do, to keep up and maintain their own party, whenever they receive the least rebuke from us;—we may learn from our enemies. Nor, my lord, whilst I am writing this, do I at all doubt of your lordship's great wisdom, zeal, and religious care, to obviate and prevent this and all other adversaries of our most holy faith, as built upon the sacred Scriptures of the prophets and apostles, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone. But if the excess of my affection for the university (which I have sometimes heard perstringed [reproached] as not taking the alarm so concernedly upon these occasions), have a little too far transported me, I most humbly supplicate your lordship's pardon for my presumption, and, for my zeal and good wishes to the prosperity of our Zion, your lordship's blessing."

Mr. Evelyn, who occasionally passed the winter in London, was resident there at the time of the great frost in the winter of 1683-4, "having many important affairs to despatch, and for the education of his daughters." The ice on the Thames became "so thick, as to bear not only streets of booths, in which they roasted meat, and had divers shops of wares, quite across as in a town, but coaches, carts, and horses passed over." That winter committed lamentable depredations in the garden at Sayes Court. "I went," he says, (Feb. 4, 1684,) "to see how the frost had dealt with my garden, where I found many of the [ever]greens and rare plants utterly de-

stroyed. The oranges and myrtles very sick, the rosemary and laurels dead to all appearance, but the cypress likely to endure it." In the spring he sent to the Royal Society a full and pathetic account of "the terrible effects" of that winter upon his garden, which was printed in the *Philosophical Transactions*, and is curious both as affording information of the perennial plants at that time chiefly cultivated in English gardens, and as stating the effects of rigorous frost upon them.

In 1685 king Charles underwent that change which happens alike to the prince who sits upon his throne, and to the beggar who lies on the dunghill. On the previous Sunday, the court had exhibited a scene of "inexpressible luxury and profaneness, gaming and all dissoluteness, and as it were total forgetfulness of God." "Six days after all was dust." He remarks in another place — "God was incensed to make his reign very troublesome and unprosperous, by wars, plagues, fires, loss of reputation by an universal neglect of the public, for the love of a voluptuous and sensual life, which a vicious court had brought into credit. I think of it with sorrow and pity, when I consider of how good and debonaire a nature that unhappy prince was, what opportunities he had to have made himself the most renowned king that ever swayed the British sceptre, had he been firm to that church for which his martyred and blessed father suffered; and had he been grateful to Almighty God, who so miraculously restored him, with so excellent a religion; had he endeavoured to own and propagate it as he should have done, not only for the good of his kingdom, but of all the reformed churches in Christendom, now weakened and near ruined through our remissness, and suffering them to be supplanted, persecuted, and destroyed, as in France, which we took no notice of."

The king had been "ever kind" to Evelyn, and "very gracious upon all occasions ; therefore," he says, "I cannot, without ingratitude, but deplore his loss, which for many respects as well as duty I do with all my soul." For such regret there was indeed abundant occasion. Greatly as Charles had neglected the "opportunities of making himself and his people happy," there was yet still less reason to expect that the national welfare would be promoted by a popish king ; and it was a most painful reflection, that the unhappy monarch deceased had been cut off in the midst of his sins, and summoned to that tribunal where there is no respect of persons, and where the throne and the sceptre will only be accounted of as talents which swell the solemn account to be then given.

A few passages from Mr. Evelyn's *Diary* and *Letters* may be properly inserted here, because they illustrate his character and habits as life advanced.

"1673, *Mar.* 29. — I carried my son to the bishop of Chichester, that learned and pious man, Dr. Peter Gunning, to be instructed by him before he received the holy sacrament ; when he gave him most excellent advice, which I pray God may influence and remain with him as long as he lives ; and O that I had been so blessed and instructed when first I was admitted to that sacred ordinance. — *Mar.* 30, Easter day : myself and son received the blessed communion, it being his first time, and with that whole week's more extraordinary preparation. I beseech God make him a sincere good christian, whilst I endeavour to instil into him the fear and love of God, and discharge the duty of a father."

"1674, *Oct.* 31. — My birthday ; fifty-fourth year of my life. Blessed be God. It was also preparation-day for the holy sacrament, in which I participated the next day, imploring God's protection for the year following,

and confirming my resolutions of a more holy life, even upon the holy book. The Lord assist me, and be gracious unto me. Amen."

"1676, *Oct.* 9. — I went with Mrs. Godolphin and my wife to Blackwall, to see some Indian curiosities. The streets being slippery, I fell against a piece of timber with such violence, that I could not speak nor fetch my breath for some space. Being carried into a house and let blood, I was removed to the water-side, and so home, where after a day's rest I recovered. This being one of my greatest deliverances, the Lord Jesus make me ever mindful and thankful. — *Oct.* 31, being my birthday, and fifty-six years old, I spent the morning in devotion, imploring God's protection, with solemn thanksgiving for all his signal mercies to me, especially for that escape which concerned me this month at Blackwall."

"1677, *Dec.* 25. — I gave my son an *Office*, with instructions how to govern his youth; I pray God give him the grace to make a right use of it."

"1679, *April* 20. — Easter day. Our vicar preached exceeding well on 1 *Cor.* v. 7. The holy communion followed, at which I and my daughter Mary (now about fourteen years old) received for the first time. The Lord Jesus continue his grace unto her, and improve this blessed beginning. — *Nov.* 4. Went to the funeral of my pious, dear, and ancient learned friend, Dr. Jasper Needham, who was buried at St. Bride's church. He was a true and holy christian, and one who loved me with great affection. Dr. Dove preached, with an eulogy due to his memory. I lost in this person one of my dearest remaining sincere friends."

"1680, *Mar.* 26. — The dean of Sarum preached, on *Jerem.* xlv. 5. an hour and half, from his commonplace book, of kings and great men retiring to private situa-

tions: scarce anything of scripture in it.—*Oct. 30.* I went to London to be private, my birthday being the next day, and I now arrived at my sixtieth year; on which I began a more solemn survey of my whole life, in order to the making and confirming my peace with God, by an accurate scrutiny of all my actions past, as far as I was able to call them to mind. How difficult and uncertain, yet how necessary a work! The Lord be merciful to me, and accept me! Who can tell how oft he offendeth? Teach me, therefore, so to number my days that I may apply my heart to wisdom, and make my calling and election sure. Amen, Lord Jesus! — *31.* I spent this whole day in exercises. A stranger preached at Whitehall, on *Luke* xvi. 30. *31.* I then went to St. Martin's, where the bishop of St. Asaph preached on *1 Peter*, iii. 15; the holy communion followed, at which I participated, humbly imploring God's assistance in the great work I was entering into. In the afternoon I heard Dr. Sprat at St. Margaret's, on *Acts*, xvii. 11. I began and spent the whole week in examining my life, begging pardon for my faults, and assistance and blessing for the future, that I might in some sort be prepared for the time that now drew near, and not have the great work to begin when one can work no longer. The Lord Jesus bless and assist me! I therefore stirred little abroad till the 5th *Nov.* when I heard Dr. Tenison, the now vicar of St. Martin's; Dr. Lloyd, the former incumbent, being made bishop of St. Asaph."

Letter to Dr. Tenison. Nov. 4th, 1680.—"Being now (through the infinite clemency of a gracious God) arrived at the sixtieth year of my age, I have (upon very serious consideration) thought it absolutely necessary to make a more accurate discussion and search into all the passages of my whole life, to this large period: and that what I

have but hitherto done, perhaps, yea doubtless, too partially, and upon solemn occasions chiefly, with great infirmities, I might now do universally, and so as I would desire to have my last audit and accounts stated, when God shall call me to die ; and have then only that work, which is also a very great one, to finish. I cannot expect my time should now be long in this world. By the course of nature (though, blessed be God, I have enjoyed wonderful health of body), I must and do now look when my change shall come ; and I would not be surprised, (as I perceive daily most men are,) with either weakness, pain, or stupidity, which render them exceedingly indisposed for the finishing of anything of this nature, and altogether from beginning of it with any certain comfort. To put this, then, to adventure, I have not the courage, and do therefore endeavour so to prepare, that I may have nothing then to do but resign myself wholly to the merciful Jesus. I have now been in this exercise some time, but find great necessity of your prayers ; which I beg that you will send up for me in particular, that God will especially soften my heart, pardon my great sins, accept and sanctify my purposes of so living as I may die his servant, and behold his glorious presence with joy. And if it were not too bold an interruption, I would also humbly desire to know about what hour to-morrow in the evening, or Saturday, I might wait upon you with least inconveniency ; for I know you are full of business ; but you are also full of charity, and it would be no small consolation to me at this time, to receive more particularly the seal of remission from your ministry and discerning spirit, and (I am persuaded) extraordinary power with God, full of holy compassion as you are. I humbly implore your prayers and blessing."

Diary. " Nov. 7. I participated of the blessed com-

munion, finishing and confirming my resolutions of giving myself up more entirely to God, to whom I had now most solemnly devoted the rest of my poor remainder of life in this world, the Lord enabling me, who am an unprofitable servant, a miserable sinner, yet depending on his infinite goodness and mercy accepting my endeavours."

"1681. *Aug.* 14. No sermon this afternoon, which I think did not happen twice in this parish these thirty years; so gracious has God been to it, and indeed to the whole nation; God grant that we abuse not this great privilege, either by our wantonness, schism, or unfaithfulness, under such means as he has not favoured any other nation under heaven besides.—1682. *Feb.* 7. After this warning and admonition, [of several fits of the ague,] I now began to look over and methodise all my writings, accounts, letters, papers; inventoried the goods and other articles of the house, and put things into the best order I could, and made my will; that now growing in years, I might have none of those secular things and concerns to distract me when it should please Almighty God to call me from this transitory life. With this I prepared some special meditations and devotions for the time of sickness. The Lord Jesus grant them to be salutary for my poor soul in that day, that I may obtain mercy and acceptance! — *March* 2. Ash Wednesday. I went to church; our vicar preached on *Proverbs*, showing what care and vigilance was required for the keeping of the heart upright. The holy communion followed, on which I gave God thanks for his gracious dealing with me in my late sickness, and affording me this blessed opportunity of praising him in the congregation, and receiving the cup of salvation with new and serious resolutions.—*May* 28. At the Rolls chapel preached the famous Dr. [Gilbert] Burnet [afterwards bishop of Sa-

lisbury] on 2 *Peter*, i. 10. describing excellently well what was meant by election; *viz.* not the effect of any irreversible decree, but so called because they embraced the Gospel readily, by which they became elect or precious to God. It would be very needless to make our calling and election sure, were they irreversible, and what the rigid presbyterians pretend. — *Oct.* 30. Being my birthday, and I now entering my great climacterical of sixty-three, after serious recollections of the years past, I gave Almighty God thanks for all his merciful preservations and forbearance, begged pardon for my sins and unworthiness, and his blessing and mercy on me the year entering."

"1683. *March* 18. I went to hear Dr. Horneck preach at the Savoy church on *Phil.* ii. 5. He was a German born, a most pathetic preacher, a person of a saint-like life, and hath written an excellent treatise of *Consideration*.* — *March* 20. Dr. Tenison preached at Whitehall on 1 *Cor.* vi. 12. I esteem him to be one of the most profitable preachers in the church of England, being also of a most holy conversation, very learned and ingenious. The pains he takes, and the care of his parish, will I fear wear him out, which would be an inexpressible loss. [He lived, notwithstanding, to be archbishop of Canterbury.] — *June* 2. Was born my granddaughter at Sayes Court, and christened by the name of Martha Maria, our vicar officiating. I pray God bless her, and may she choose the better part.—*Oct.* 4. Surfeiting of [the luxury and rich and splendid furniture of the duchess of Portsmouth's apartments in the king's palace,] I went contented home to my poor but quiet villa. What contentment can there be in the riches and splendour of this world, purchased with vice and dishonour!"

* The writer is preparing a life of Dr. Horneck for a future volume.

"1684. *March 7.* Dr. Meggot, Dean of Winchester, preached an incomparable sermon, on *Heb. xii. 15*, showing, and pathetically expressing, the care we ought to have lest we come short of the grace of God."

Brief and few as these extracts are, they manifest on the part of the writer a strong feeling of dependence upon God, a conviction that spiritual grace is the gift of God, and a desire to enjoy larger supplies of it; they evince a persuasion of the duty and efficacy of prayer, both for ourselves and others; they show that he looked to the Lord's Supper as a means of spiritual comfort, and that he was anxious not to partake of it unworthily. As he advances in years, we find him making more active preparation for his change, and giving up a week for the examination of his soul, in which he acknowledges himself a miserable sinner, and devotes himself thenceforward, during "the rest of his poor remainder of life," to the service of God, hoping that at the last he might have nothing else to do but to resign his soul into the hands of God.

Other passages might be quoted, and amongst them some in which he manifests great tenderness towards his suffering fellow-creatures, and speaks of days employed in visiting the poor, as "the best days he ever spent in his life." But these are tokens for good, and prove that he was looking for *a city which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God.*

CHAPTER V.

THE DEATH OF HIS DAUGHTER MARY.

Only, since our souls will shrink
At the touch of natural grief,
When our earthly loved ones sink,
Lend us, Lord, thy sure relief ;
Patient hearts their pain to see,
And thy grace to follow Thee.—*Christian Year.*

Few greater afflictions can befall a pious christian than the death of those religious friends and relations who have been instrumental, in the hands of God, to his edification. When the burning and shining light which warmed his heart is extinct, he feels that the very circumstances which minister consolation are also productive of grief. The devotion and virtue which proceeded from a holy and saving faith, were useful to help and encourage him in the way to heaven, threw some rays of their brightness upon what was dark within him, and raised and supported what was light. Such a friend is embraced by the affections as a friend to the soul, and there are none whose places are more difficult to supply when they are gone.

But happily it is not a sorrow without hope ; and as it is softened by the most blessed prospects, so the memory of the past in some sort occupies the place of the departed, and gives freshness to their sayings, their cautions, and sweet encouragements ; the reflections which they delighted to entertain seem doubly welcome, the warnings which they were wont to fear seem doubly dreadful ; and the example of their walk in the way of righteousness is consecrated to the good of those who have yet to finish their course.

In the year 1685 Mr. Evelyn experienced in full measure all these sorrows and consolations. A most amiable and pious daughter was removed from his society upon earth. She had endeared herself to him by her most tender affection, and he looked upon her as the youthful support of his declining years; they took sweet counsel together, and walked in the house of God as friends. But God saw fit to take her early to himself; perhaps because her parents needed to be more weaned from this present world.

Of eight children, four only were living at the beginning of that year; and two of these were not permitted to survive till its conclusion. On the 7th of March, the fatal small-pox seized his beloved daughter Mary, a beautiful creature in mind as well as in form and features, highly accomplished, and of fine understanding, yet unaffectedly humble and pious, cheerful and affectionate. He says, "There was soon found no hope of her recovery. A very great affliction to me: but God's holy will be done!"

"*March* 10.—She received the blessed sacrament; after which, disposing herself to suffer what God should determine to inflict, she bore the remainder of her sickness with extraordinary patience and piety, and more than ordinary resignation, and blessed frame of mind. She died the 14th, to our unspeakable sorrow and affliction, and not to ours only, but that of all who knew her, who were many of the best quality, greatest and most virtuous persons. The justness of her stature, person, comeliness of countenance, gracefulness of motion, unaffected though more than ordinarily beautiful, were the least of her ornaments compared with those of her mind. Of early piety, singularly religious, spending a part of every day in private devotion, reading, and other virtuous

exercises; she had collected and written out many of the most useful and judicious periods of the books she read, in a kind of common-place book, as out of Dr. Hammond on the New Testament, and most of the best practical treatises. She had read and digested a considerable deal of history and of places. The French tongue was as familiar to her as English; she understood Italian, and was able to render a laudable account of what she read and observed; to which assisted a most faithful memory and discernment; and she did make very prudent and discreet reflexions upon what she had observed of the conversations among which she had at any time been, which being continually of persons of the best quality, she thereby improved. She had an excellent voice, to which she played a thorough-bass on the harpsichord, in both which she arrived to that perfection, that of the scholars of those two famous masters, signors Pietro and Bartholomeo, she was esteemed the best; for the sweetness of her voice and management of it added such an agreeableness to her countenance, without any constraint or concern, that when she sung, it was as charming to the eye as to the ear; this I rather note, because it was a universal remark, and for which so many noble and judicious persons in music desired to hear her, the last being at lord Arundel's of Wardour. What shall I say, or rather not say, of the cheerfulness and agreeableness of her humour? condescending to the meanest servant in the family, or others, she still kept up respect, without the least pride. She would often read to them, examine, instruct, and pray with them if they were sick, so as she was exceedingly beloved by every body. Piety was so prevalent an ingredient in her constitution, (as I may say,) that even amongst equals and superiors she no sooner became intimately acquainted, but she would en-

deavour to improve them, by insinuating something of religion, and that tended to bring them to a love of devotion. She had one or two confidants, with whom she used to pass whole days in fasting, reading, and prayers, especially before the monthly communion, and other solemn occasions. She abhorred flattery, and though she had abundance of wit, the raillery was so innocent and ingenious that it was most agreeable ; she sometimes would see a play, but since the stage grew licentious, expressed herself weary of them, and thought the time spent at the theatre an unaccountable vanity. She never played at cards without extreme importunity, and for the company ; but this was so very seldom, that I cannot number it among anything she could name a fault. No one could read prose or verse better, or with more judgment ; and as she read, so she writ with that maturity of judgment and exactness of the periods, choice of expressions, and familiarity of style, that some letters of hers have astonished me and others to whom she has occasionally written. She had such a talent of rehearsing any comical part or poem, as, to them she might be decently free with, was more pleasing than heard in the theatre ; she danced with the greatest grace I had ever seen, and so would her master say, who was Mons. Isaac ; but she seldom shewed that perfection, save in the gracefulness of her carriage, which was with an air of spritely modesty not easily to be described. She was nothing affected, but natural and easy, as well in her deportment as in her discourse ; which was always material, not trifling, and to which the extraordinary sweetness of her tone, even in familiar speaking, was very charming. Nothing was so pretty as her descending to play with little children, whom she would caress and humour with great delight.

“ But she most affected [loved] to be with grave and sober men, of whom she might learn something, and improve herself. I have been assisted by her in reading and praying by me ; she was comprehensive of uncommon notions, curious of knowing everything, to some excess, had I not sometimes repressed it. Nothing was so delightful to her as to go into my study, where she would willingly have spent whole days, for, as I said, she had read abundance of history, and all the best poets, even Terence, Plautus, Homer, Virgil, Horace, Ovid ; all the best romances and modern poems ; she could compose happily, and put in pretty symbols, as in the *Mundus Muliebris*, wherein is an enumeration of the immense variety of the modes and ornaments belonging to the sex ; but all these are vain trifles to the virtues which adorned her soul,—she was sincerely religious, most dutiful to her parents, whom she loved with an affection tempered with great esteem, so as we were easy and free, and never were so well pleased as when she was with us, nor needed we other conversation. She was kind to her sisters, and was still improving them by her constant course of piety. Oh dear, sweet, and desirable child, how shall I part with all this goodness and virtue, without the bitterness of sorrow, and reluctancy of a tender parent ! Thy affection, duty, and love to me was that of a friend as well as a child. Nor less dear to thy mother, whose example and tender care of thee was unparalleled, nor was thy return to her less conspicuous ; Oh ! how she mourns thy loss ! how desolate hast thou left us ! To the grave shall we both carry thy memory !

“ God alone (in whose bosom thou art at rest and happy !) give us grace to resign thee and all our contentments, (for thou indeed wert all in this world !) to his

blessed pleasure ! Let him be glorified by our submission, and give us grace to bless him for the graces he implanted in thee, thy virtuous life, and pious and holy death, which is indeed the only comfort of our souls, hastening through the infinite love and mercy of the Lord Jesus to be shortly with thee, dear child, and with thee and those blessed saints like thee, to glorify the Redeemer of the world to all eternity ! Amen !

“ It was in the 19th year of her age that this sickness happened to her. An accident contributed to this disease ; she had an apprehension of it in particular, and which struck her but two days before she came home, by an imprudent gentlewoman whom she went with lady Falkland to visit, who, after they had been a good while in the house, told them she had a servant sick of the small-pox (who indeed died the next day) ; this my poor child acknowledged made an impression on her spirits. There were four gentlemen of quality offering to treat with me about marriage, and I freely gave her her own choice, knowing her discretion. She showed great indifference to marrying at all, ‘for truly,’ says she to her mother, (the other day,) ‘were I assured of your life and my dear father’s, never would I part from you ; I love you and this home, where we serve God, above all things, nor ever shall I be so happy. I know and consider the vicissitudes of the world ; I have some experience of its vanities, and but for decency more than inclination, and that you judge it expedient for me, I would not change my condition, but rather add the fortune you design me to my sister’s, and keep up the reputation of the family.’ This was so discreetly and sincerely uttered, that it could not but proceed from an extraordinary child, and one who loved her parents beyond example.

“ At London she took this fatal disease, and the occasion of her being there was this, my lord viscount Falkland's lady having been our neighbour, (as he was treasurer of the navy,) she took so great an affection to my daughter, that when they went back in the autumn to the city, nothing would satisfy their incessant importunity but letting her accompany my lady, and staying some time with her : it was with the greatest reluctance I complied. Whilst she was there, my lord being musical, when I saw my lady would not part with her till Christmas, I was not unwilling she should improve the opportunity of learning of signor Pietro, who had an admirable way both of composure and teaching. It was the end of February before I could prevail with my lady to part with her ; but my lord going into Oxfordshire, to stand for knight of the shire there, she expressed her wish to come home, being tired of the vain and empty conversation of the town, the theatres, the court, and trifling visits which consumed so much precious time, and made her sometimes miss of that regular course of piety that gave her the greatest satisfaction. She was weary of this life, and I think went not thrice to court all this time, except when her mother or I carried her. She did not affect showing herself ; she knew the court well, and passed one summer in it at Windsor with lady Tuke, one of the queen's women of the bedchamber, (a most virtuous relation of her's) ; she was not fond of that glittering scene, now become abominably licentious, though there was a design of lady Rochester and lady Clarendon to have made her a maid of honour to the queen, as soon as there was a vacancy. But this she did not set her heart upon, nor indeed on any thing so much as the service of God, a quiet and regular life, and how she might improve herself in the most necessary accom-

plishments, and to which she was arrived at so great a measure.

“ This is the little history and imperfect character of my dear child, whose piety, virtue, and incomparable endowments deserve a monument more durable than brass and marble. Precious is the memorial of the just. Much I could enlarge on every period of this hasty account, but that I ease and discharge my overcoming passion for the present, so many things, worthy an excellent christian and dutiful child, crowding upon me. Never can I say enough—oh dear, my dear child, whose memory is so precious to me !

“ This dear child was born at Wotton, in the same house and chamber in which I first drew my breath, my wife having retired to my brother there in the great sickness that year, upon the first of that month, and near the very hour that I was born [on] the last, viz. October.

March 16. — “ She was interred in the south-east end of the church at Deptford, near her grandmother and several of my younger children and relations. My desire was, she should have been carried and laid among my own parents and relations at Wotton, where I desire to be interred myself, when God shall call me out of this uncertain transitory life, but some circumstances did not permit it. Our vicar, Dr. Holden, preached her funeral sermon, on 1 *Phil.* 21, *For to me to live is Christ, and to die is gain*, upon which he made an apposite discourse, as those who heard it assured me, (for grief suffered me not to be present,) concluding with a modest recital of her many virtues and signal piety, so as to draw both tears and admiration from the hearers. I was not altogether unwilling that something of this sort should be spoken for the edification and encouragement of the young people.

“ Divers noble persons honoured her funeral, some in person, others sending their coaches, of which there were six or seven with six horses, viz. the countess of Sunderland, earl of Clarendon, lord Godolphin, sir Stephen Fox, sir William Godolphin, viscount Falkland, and others. There were distributed amongst her friends about sixty rings. Thus lived, died, and was buried, the joy of my life, and ornament of her sex, and of my poor family! God Almighty of his infinite mercy grant me the grace thankfully to resign myself and all I have, or had, to his Divine pleasure, and in his good time restore health and comfort to my family: *teach me so to number my days that I may apply my heart to wisdom*, be prepared for my dissolution, and that into the hands of my blessed Saviour I may recommend my spirit! Amen!

“ On looking into her closet, it is incredible what a number of collections she had made from historians, poets, travellers, &c. but above all devotions, contemplations, and resolutions on these contemplations, found under hand in a book most methodically disposed; prayers, meditations, and devotions on particular occasions, with many pretty letters to her confidants; one to a divine (not named) to whom she writes that he would be her ghostly father, and would not despise her for her many errors and the imperfections of her youth, but beg of God to give her courage to acquaint him with all her faults, imploring his assistance and spiritual directions. I well remember she had often desired me to recommend her to such a person, but I did not think fit to do it as yet, seeing her apt to be scrupulous, and knowing the great innocency and integrity of her life.

“ It is astonishing how one who had acquired such substantial and practical knowledge in other ornamental parts of education, especially music both vocal and in-

strumental, in dancing, paying and receiving visits, and necessary conversation, could accomplish half of what she has left ; but as she never affected play or cards, which consume a world of precious time, so she was in continual exercise, which yet abated nothing of her most agreeable conversation. But she was a little miracle while she lived, and so she died !”

Mrs. Evelyn also speaks in the most tender and affectionate terms of this amiable daughter. She writes thus to lady Tuke, her husband’s relative ;—“ How to express the sorrow for parting with so dear a child, is a difficult task. She was welcome to me from the first moment God gave her, acceptable through the whole course of her life by a thousand endearments, by the gifts of nature, by acquired parts, by the tender love she ever shewed her father and me ; a thread of piety accompanied all her actions, and now proves our greatest consolation. The patience, resignation, and humility of her carriage, in so severe and fatal a disease, discovered more than an ordinary assistance of the Divine goodness, never expressing fear of death, or a desire to live, but for her friends’ sake. The seventh day of her illness she discoursed to me in particular as calmly as in health, desired to confess, and receive the blessed sacrament, which she performed with great devotion, after which, though in her perfect senses to the last, she never signified the least concern for the world ; prayed often, and resigned her soul. What shall I say ! She was too great a blessing for me, who never deserved anything, much less such a jewel. I am too well assured of your ladyship’s kindness, to doubt the part you take in this loss ; you have ever shewed yourself a friend in so many instances, that I presume upon your compassion ; nothing but this just occasion could have hindered me from wel-

coming you to town, and rejoicing with the best friend I have in the world—a friend by merit and inclination,—one I must esteem, as the wife of so worthy a relation and so sincere a friend as sir Sam. [Tuke] was to me and mine. What is this world, when we recall past things! What are the charms that keep our minds in suspense! Without the conversation of those we love, what is life worth! How did I propose happiness this summer in the return of your ladyship and my dear child — for she was absent almost all this winter!

“She had much improved herself by the remarks she had made of the world and all its vanities. — What shall I add! I could ever speak of her, and might I be just to her without suspicion of partiality, could tell you many things. The papers which are found in her cabinet discover she profited by her reading — such reflections, collections out of Scripture, confessions, meditations and pious notions, evidence that her time was not spent in the trifling way of most young women. I acknowledge, as a christian, I ought not to murmur, and I should be infinitely sorry to incur God’s further displeasure. There are those yet remaining that challenge my care, and for their sakes I endeavour to submit all I can. I thank my poor cousin a thousand times for her kind concern, and wish she may live to be the comfort you deserve in her, that God will continue his blessing to both, and make you happy, — which is the prayer of her who is yours most affectionately, M. E.”

Mrs. Evelyn was “often heard to say concerning the death of her admirable and beloved daughter, that though she had lost her for ever in this world, yet she would not but that she had been, because many pleasing ideas occurred to her thoughts, that she had conversed with her so long, and been made happy by her for so many years.”

In August they lost another daughter, soon after her marriage, by the same frightful disease. "Thus in less than six months," he says, "were we deprived of two children, for our unworthiness, and causes best known to God, whom I beseech from the bottom of my heart, that He will give us grace to make that right use of all these chastisements, that we may become better, and entirely submit in all things to his infinitely wise disposal. Amen."

Mr. Evelyn's conviction that a parent's greatest joy springs from a persuasion of his children's piety, may be seen in the following letter to the countess of Sunderland, written in 1686, the year after the death of these daughters. — "Madam, I am not unmindful of the late command you laid upon me, to give you a catalogue of such books as I believed might be fit to entertain your more devout and serious hours ; and I look upon it as a peculiar grace and favour of God to your ladyship, that amidst so many temptations and grandeur of courts, the attendants, visits, diversions, and other circumstances of the palace, and the way you are engaged in, you are resolved that nothing of this shall interrupt your duty to God, and the religion you profess, whenever it comes in competition with the things of this world, how splendid soever they may appear for a little and (God knows) uncertain time. Madam, it is the best and most grateful return you can make to Heaven, for all the blessings you enjoy ; amongst which there is none you are more happy in than in the virtue, and early and solid piety, of my lady Anne, and the progress of your little son. Madam, the foundation you have laid in those two blessings, will not only build but establish your illustrious family, beyond all the provisions you can make of gallant and great in the estimation of the world, and you will find the comfort of it, when all this noise and hurry shall vanish as a

dream, and leave nothing to support us in time of need. I am persuaded you often make these reflections, from your own great judgment, and experiences of the vicissitudes of things present, and prospect of the future, which is only worth our solicitude."

At the close of the year which was marked by these afflictions, he wrote in his journal;—"Dec. 31. Recollecting the passages of the year past, made up accounts, and humbly besought Almighty God to pardon those my sins which had provoked him to discompose my sorrowful family; that he would accept of our humiliation, and in his good time restore comfort to it. I also blessed God for all his undeserved mercies and preservations, begging the continuance of his grace and preservation."

CHAPTER VI.

HIS OLD AGE AND DEATH.

Nor shall dull age, as worldlings say,
 The heavenward flame annoy;
 The Saviour cannot pass away,
 And with him lives our joy.
 Even the richest, tenderest glow
 Sets round th' autumnal sun—
 But there sight fails; no heart may know
 The bliss when life is done.—*Christian Year.*

THE portion of the journal which follows what we have already introduced, is chiefly taken up with public affairs, which were in a state most unsatisfactory to Mr. Evelyn. He looked with the deepest regret upon king James's attachment to popery, and his measures for promoting

the interests of that religion in England;* and being appointed one of the commissioners for executing the office of Lord Privy Seal, at the beginning of the reign, he refused to put the seal to a licence for printing certain popish books, which by act of parliament were expressly forbidden to be sold; and on other occasions absented himself from the meetings of the commissioners, when measures were to be passed which he could not approve. He afterwards put the bishops on their guard against some of the plans of the jesuits; and it was his prayer that God would "direct the counsels of the nation to his glory and the good of the church." He considered that the church was strong in argument, and in the purity of her doctrine, against the "emissaries and instruments of the church of Rome;" and was confident that even if God, "for the punishment of a nation so unworthy," should suffer darkness and superstition again to prevail,

* The zeal of the papists may be illustrated by an anecdote in the *Diary*, which will be interesting to the readers of the *Life of Archbishop Usher*:—"1686, *April* 18. In the afternoon I went to Camberwell to visit Dr. Parr. After sermon, I accompanied him to his house, where he shewed me the *Life and Letters* of the late learned Primate of Armagh, (Usher,) and among them that letter of bishop Bramhall's to the primate, giving notice of the popish practices to pervert this nation, by sending a hundred priests into England [during the commonwealth], who were to conform themselves to all sectaries and conditions, for the more easily dispersing their doctrine among us. This letter was the cause of the whole impression being seized, upon pretence that it was a political or historical account of things, not relating to theology, though it had been licensed by the bishop; which plainly showed what an interest the papists now had, that a protestant book, containing the life and letters of so eminent a man, was not to be published. There were also many letters to and from most of the learned persons, his correspondents, in Europe. The book will, I doubt not, struggle through this unjust impediment."

yet that "the doctrine of the church of England would never be extinguished;" "in all events," he added, "whatever do become of that church, it is certainly, of all the christian professions on earth, the most primitive, apostolical, and excellent." At that anxious time he rejoiced to observe that "the English clergy every where preached boldly against the superstitions and errors of popery, and were wonderfully followed by the people." "The party," he says, "were exceedingly put to the worst by the preaching and writing of the protestants in many excellent treatises, evincing the doctrine and discipline of the reformed religion, to the manifest disadvantage of their adversaries."

He was an anxious spectator of the great revolution in 1688; but much as he deprecated the principles of king James, political and religious, he was evidently not prepared for so strong a step as that which brought king William to the throne. The evils of former social convulsions were fresh in his memory, and not foreseeing the happy issue of that brief struggle, he dreaded the return of tumults and civil war.

On his next birthday, however, when he entered his seventieth year, referring to the recent events, he speaks as if he was satisfied with the course which affairs had taken.—"Blessed Father, who hast prolonged my years to this great age, and given me to see so great and wonderful revolutions, and preserved me amidst them to this moment, accept, I beseech thee, the continuance of my prayers and thankful acknowledgements, and grant me grace to be working out my salvation, and redeeming the time, that thou mayest be glorified by me here, and my immortal soul saved, whenever thou shalt call for it, to perpetuate thy praises to all eternity in that heavenly kingdom, where there are no more changes or vicissitudes,

but rest, and peace, and joy, and consummate felicity for ever. Grant this, O heavenly Father, for the sake of Jesus thine only Son, and our Saviour. Amen."

In 1693, his only surviving daughter Susannah was married, by his friend bishop (afterwards archbishop) Tenison, to William Draper, Esq. of Adscomb in Surrey. "I pray Almighty God," he says, "to give his blessing to this marriage. She is a good child, religious, discreet, ingenious, and qualified with all the ornaments of her sex. She has a peculiar talent in design, as painting in oil and miniature, and an extraordinary genius for whatever hands can do with a needle. She has the French tongue, has read most of the Greek and Roman authors and poets, using her talents with great modesty; exquisitely shaped, and of an agreeable countenance. This character is due to her, though coming from her father." A few years after, he speaks of Mr. Draper as being a "a most deserving husband, a prudent, well-natured gentleman, a man of business, like to be very rich, and deserving to be so; among the happiest pairs I think in England, and to my daughter's and our heart's desire. She has . . . a mother-in-law, exceedingly fond of my daughter, and a most excellent woman, charitable, and of a very sweet disposition. They all live together, keep each their coach, and with as suitable an equipage as any in town."

After the marriage of his daughter, he was invited by his brother to occupy some apartments in the house at Wotton; and in the spring of 1694 he removed his books, pictures, and "much furniture of all sorts," from Sayes Court, in which he had lived for more than forty years. He left three servants, however, in the house, and sufficient furniture for his "son-in-law Draper to pass the summer in, and such longer time as he should think fit

to make use of it." Sayes Court was subsequently let to captain (afterwards admiral) Benbow, where Evelyn had the mortification of seeing every day much of his former labours and expense there impairing, for want of "a more polite tenant." And when Peter the Great, of Russia, went to Deptford to study the art of ship-building, he hired Evelyn's house, and made it his court and palace. The servants of the house were not well pleased with their royal visiter: one writes to his master—"There is a house full of people, and right nasty. The czar lies next your library, and dines in the parlour next your study. . . . The king is expected there this day, the best parlour is pretty clean for him to be entertained in." The gardens were sadly injured by this tenant, who made it his pastime to ride in a wheelbarrow through the holly hedge, which Evelyn speaks of as the pride of his garden.

Of his own pursuits and occupations at Wotton, he has left us an account in a letter to Dr. Bohun, dated Wotton, 18th of January, 1697. "Having been told," he says, "that you have lately enquired what is become of your now old friends of Sayes Court, the date hereof will acquaint you where they are, and the sequel much of what they do and think." He then describes his little grandson's love of books, and his own regret at being so far from "the conversation of the learned; so that without books," he says, "and the best wife and brother in the world, I were to be pitied; but with these subsidiaries, and the revising some of my old impertinences, to which I am adding a *Discourse* I made on *Medals* (lying by me long before Obadiah Walker's *Treatise* appeared), I pass some of my attic nights, if I may be so vain as to name them with the author of those criticisms. For the rest, I am planting an evergreen grove here. . . . We have a

very convenient apartment, of five rooms together, besides a pretty closet, which we have furnished with the spoils of Sayes Court, and is the raree-show of the whole neighbourhood, and in truth we live very easy as to all domestic cares. Wednesday and Saturday nights we call lecture nights, when my wife and myself take our turns to read the packets of all the news sent constantly from London, which serves us for discourse till fresh news comes; and so you have the history of a very old man, and his no young companion, whose society I have enjoyed more to my satisfaction these three years here, than in almost fifty before. But I am now every day trussing up to be gone, I hope to a better place."

In 1695 he had the satisfaction of laying the foundation stone of Greenwich hospital. The total want of any asylum for the sick and wounded defenders of his country, and the misery to which they were thereby exposed, had induced him to urge upon the government the erection of such an institution; and therefore it was with peculiar pleasure that he laid the first stone of that splendid establishment.

In the year 1699, to his "exceeding grief and affliction," he followed to the grave his only remaining son, a man of much ability and reputation, who died in the forty-fifth year of his age. At this mournful season he wrote thus to Mr. Thoresby, of Leeds, declaring the grief which this loss had occasioned. "It has left its impression so deep in me, that as I was hardly able to bear up under the pressure of it, so have I been ever since extremely unfit to entertain my friends with those returns of respect which are due to them, and especially to yourself, from whom I have received so many marks of esteem, and repeated favours. I was thinking now of returning into the country for altogether; but upon other consi-

derations suspend that resolution as yet, and am now removing my family to a more convenient house here in Dover-street, where I have the remainder of a lease, and may hope for some better repose and accommodation, and to converse with my friends again.”—In the same year, his “worthy brother,—a religious, sober, temperate, and most hospitable man,” died at Wotton in the eighty-third year of his age, leaving to him the family estate.

His journal still continued to receive his devout thoughts and wishes on his birthdays, and some other particular occasions, but as they are very similar to those already quoted, it is not necessary to introduce them here. It may be right to observe, however, that he viewed with horror the “unchristian custom of duelling,” and wished that if religious restraints could not repress it, some “severe remedy” might be provided by law. And in 1699, speaking of the robberies and murders which were committed, and of the atheism, profaneness, and blasphemy which then abounded, he commends to the blessing of God a society formed in London, for the purpose of repressing these serious provocations, and of “putting the laws in more strict execution against offenders.” “Divers persons of quality entered into this society for reformation of manners, and some lectures were set up, particularly in the city of London.”*

* These societies were chiefly conducted by Dr. (afterwards bishop) Beveridge, and Dr. Horneck of the Savoy. They were associations of persons who met frequently for devotion and religious instruction, and who resolved to inform the magistrates of swearers, drunkards, profaners of the Lord's day, and frequenters of the haunts of profligacy. About the same time the *Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge* was formed for the purpose of educating poor children, and distributing religious books; and the *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts* was established for settling schools in our Plantations, and for sending Missionaries to such parts of our

In the year 1700 we meet with the following agreeable letter to his friend Mr. Pepys, descriptive of his feelings and manner of life:—"Wotton, July 22.—I could no longer suffer this old servant of mine to pass and repass so near Clapham, without a particular account of your health, and all your happy family. You will now enquire what do I do here? Why, as the patriarchs of old, I pass the day in the fields, among horses and oxen, sheep and cows. We have, thank God, finished our hay harvest prosperously. I am looking after my hinds, providing carriage and tackle against reaping time and sowing. What shall I say more, I take pleasure in my farm, which Cicero, you know, reckons amongst the most becoming diversions of old age; and so I render it. This without;—now within doors, never was any matron more busy than my wife, disposing of our plain country furniture for a naked old extravagant house, suitable to our employments. She has a dairy and distaffs, and is become a very Sabine. 'But can you thus hold out?' So will my friend say:—"Is philosophy, Gresham College, and the example of Mr. Pepys, and the agreeable conversation of York Buildings, quite forgotten and abandoned?"—No, no! Our nature is not so easily changed. Know I have been arranging of no fewer than thirty large cases of books, destined for a competent standing library, during four or five days, wholly destitute of my young coadjutor, who, upon some pretence of being much engaged in the mathematics, and desiring he may continue his course at Oxford till the beginning of August, I have wholly left it to him. You will now suspect something by this disordered hand; and truly I was too happy in

Colonies as were not able to provide pastors for themselves.—See BURNET'S *Own Times*, Book VII. paragraph on *Societies for Reformation*.

these little domestic affairs, when on a sudden, as I was about my books in the library, I found myself sorely attacked with a shivering, followed by a feverish disposition, and a strangury, so as to have kept, not my chamber only, but my bed, till very lately, and with just so much strength as to scribble these lines to you. For the rest I give God thanks, for this gracious warning, my great age calling upon me to prepare for my journey, every day expecting it, who have still enjoyed a wonderful course of bodily health for forty years. . . . And with much ado I have held out thus far. Your prayers I need not beg, you are so charitable. I beseech you bear with the blots and impertinence of this from," &c.

A few weeks after, he wrote another letter to Mr. Pepys, thanking him cordially for his friendly religious counsel, and assuring him that he cherished the most serious reflections, and that he prayed Almighty God to prepare them both for another and a better state.

Mr. Evelyn, on his eightieth birthday (in 1700) still found occasion to thank God that his "sight, hearing, and other senses and faculties were tolerable, which I implore God to continue," he adds, "with the pardon of my sins past, and grace to acknowledge by my improvement of his goodness the ensuing year, if it be his pleasure to protract my life, that I may be better prepared for my last day, through the infinite merits of my blessed Saviour, the Lord Jesus. Amen."

In 1702 he was elected a member of the *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts*, which was then lately incorporated. "We sent a young divine," he says, "to New York." On his birthday in the same year, he writes thus:—"Oct. 31.—Arrived now to the eighty-second year of my age; having read over all that passed since this day twelvemonth in these notes, I ren-

der solemn thanks to the Lord, imploring the pardon of my past sins, and the assistance of his grace,—making new resolutions,—and imploring that he will continue his assistance, and prepare me for my blessed Saviour's coming, that I may obtain a comfortable departure after so long a term as has hitherto been indulged me. I find by many infirmities this year that I much decline ; and yet, of his infinite mercy, retain my intellects and senses in great measure above most of my age. I have this year repaired much of the mansion house, and several of the tenants' houses, and paid some of my debts and engagements. My wife, children, and family in health ; for all which I most solemnly beseech God to accept these my acknowledgments, that if it be his holy will to continue me yet longer, it may be to the praise of his infinite grace, and salvation of my soul. Amen."

Mr. Evelyn outlived most of his dearest friends ; his brothers, his sisters, and all his children save one, were no more, and the friendships formed in the earlier part of his life were now pretty nearly extinct. Mr. Boyle, "that pious admirable christian and excellent philosopher," who "honoured him with his particular esteem for nearly forty years," died in December 1690. Most of the original members of the Royal Society had left him behind. And amongst his religious acquaintance, few of those whom he speaks of in terms of affection remained. Bishop Gunning, whose whole character and conversation he admired, and bishop Earle, "a most humble, meek, but cheerful man, an excellent scholar, and rare preacher, universally beloved for his sweet and gentle disposition," and by whom Evelyn "had the honour to be loved,"—had long before him exchanged time for eternity ; and more recently Dr. Bathurst died (May 1704), "the oldest acquaintance," he says, "now left me in the world ; this,"

he adds, "is a serious alarm to me; God grant that I may profit by it." His father-in-law, sir Richard Browne, had been many years gathered to his fathers. The harp of Cowley was silent; and many others whose society he had cultivated for their elegant tastes and accomplishments, had gone to give their account. He had been on terms of great intimacy with Mr. Pepys, who died in 1703, "universally beloved," he says, "hospitable, generous, learned in many things, skilled in music, a very great cherisher of learned men of whom he had the conversation." And he had found consolation in "the religious and pious circumstances" of the sickness and death of lord Ossory, his "most noble and illustrious friend," whom he regarded as "a true christian," and exemplary in all the relations of life.

He had also mourned for the loss of the pious, excellent, and virtuous lady Mordaunt, his "long acquaintance," "a blessed creature, and one that loved and feared God exemplarily." And in the death of another lady, he had occasion to lament for "the most excellent and inestimable friend that ever lived." This was Mrs. Godolphin, who died in 1678, at the early age of twenty-six. "Never," he says, "was a more virtuous and inviolable friendship; never a more religious, discreet, and admirable creature; beloved of all, admired of all, for all possible perfections of her sex. . . . How shall I ever repay the obligations to her for the infinite good offices she did my soul, by so oft engaging me to make religion the terms and tie of the friendship there was between us! . . . We often prayed, visited the sick and miserable, received, read, discoursed, and communicated in all holy offices together. She was most dear to my wife and affectionate to my children. But she is gone! This only is my comfort, that she is happy in Christ, and I shall shortly behold her again!"

He had also recorded the death of many others of whom he only says that they were his friends, without giving any description of their characters; and old age warned him that the time of his own departure was at hand, and that he ought to trim his lamp more diligently, so as to be found like one who waits for his Lord.

On entering his eighty-fourth year, he looked back with thankfulness upon the mercies of God, and particularly expressed his gratitude for his exemption from so many of the sorrows common to old age; he also prayed for the pardon of his sins, and for grace to prepare him for a better life. Soon after, on a Sunday, when "the wet and uncomfortable weather" prevented him from attending church, his good friend Dr. Bohun "officiated in the family, and made an excellent discourse on 1 Cor. xv. 55, 56, of the vanity of this world and uncertainty of life, and the inexpressible happiness and satisfaction of a holy life, with pertinent inferences to prepare us for death, and a future state. I gave him thanks," he says, "and told him I took it kindly as my funeral sermon."

He lived however to see two birth-days more. On the former of these, "after particular reflection on his concerns and passages of the year, he set some considerable time of this day apart to recollect and examine his state and condition." The last entries in his diary are as follows;—"1705. Oct. 31. I am this day arrived to the eighty-fifth* year of my age. Lord, teach me so to number my days to come, that I may apply them to wisdom."

"1706. Jan 1.—Making up my accounts for the past year, paid bills, wages, and new-years' gifts according to custom. Though much indisposed, and in so advanced a stage, I went to our chapel [in London], to give God public thanks, beseeching Almighty God to assist me

* He that day completed his eighty-fifth and commenced his eighty-sixth year.

and my family the ensuing year, if he should yet continue my pilgrimage here, and bring me at last to a better life with Him, in his heavenly kingdom. Divers of our friends and relations dined with us this day."

"Jan. 27. My indisposition increasing, I was exceeding ill this whole week."

The *Diary* concludes with his notes of the sermons preached at the chapel, in the morning and the afternoon of the third of February, but these have not been published by the editor of that work.

We must here take leave of Mr. Evelyn; there remains no further memorial of his latter days, nor any account of his death, excepting that "he fell asleep on the 27th of February 1706, in full hope of a glorious resurrection through faith in Jesus Christ," having directed this truth, which he had learned by long experience, to be inscribed upon his monument;—*That all is vanity which is not honest, and that there is no solid wisdom but in real piety.*"

The private character of Mr. Evelyn was most amiable and exemplary. As a husband, a parent, and a friend he was worthy of the love which he enjoyed. His home was the abode of peace and affection, cemented and secured by the happy influence of religion; and the uniform kindness of heart which appears throughout his journal and letters, may be taken as a satisfactory evidence of the amiableness of his disposition. To this excellent temper, which evinced itself, among other ways, in tenderness towards the failings of others, we may perhaps in a great measure attribute the fact of his possessing so many attached friends, and experiencing so little of that enmity and acrimony which too commonly assail eminent characters. Mr. Pepys speaks of him as "a most excellent person," "a man much above others," and declared that

the more he knew him the more he loved him ; and it may fairly be inferred from Evelyn's Diary, that many of the most worthy characters of the day valued his acquaintance, and cultivated his society. The constancy and warmth of his friendship were felt by many in their hour of adversity ; to Lords Clarendon, Clifford, and Arlington, Sandwich, and Ossory, he showed that so long as he could respect their characters and virtues, they were sure of his affection and esteem.

While mentioning these noble names it is right to add that he "blessed God that he himself was born in a private condition."

He felt for the sufferings and sorrows of his fellow creatures ; it appears from his Diary, that at particular times he entertained the poor at his own house ; and if he had not been frequently amongst them in their own habitations, he would scarcely have been selected, as he was, by his friends to administer their alms. In public life his example is worthy of imitation, since he exercised the duties of the offices conferred upon him diligently, conscientiously, and fearlessly.

His pleasures were such as are laudable as well as innocent ; healthful alike for the mind and for the body ; his employments in his study were elegant and useful ; and his writings, if not indicative of commanding genius, yet show unwearied industry and excellent taste. He had studied the works of the Creator and the creature, and wrote on many departments of literature and the arts ; and few who have cultivated so great a diversity of subjects, have met with equal success in elucidating them.

It was his desire to be instrumental to the advancement of science, and to awaken in his countrymen a love of the elegant pursuits of peace. His taste and accomplish-

ments were engaged in teaching them to build their houses, to adorn them with pictures and furnish them with books, and to cultivate their orchards and gardens ; and the lover of our native groves may remember with gratitude his efforts to stay betimes the axe of the woodman, and give energy to the spade of the planter.

Above all, his deep and practical piety may be recommended as an example to all men. A manuscript commentary on the Holy Scriptures, of considerable length, and several other religious works, not published but preserved by his family,* testify that his thoughts were frequently engaged upon religious subjects ; and although we cannot speak of their contents, yet the probability that they were written for his private use may confirm our belief that his object was the confirmation of his faith, and his own personal edification. His diary and letters do not often admit us into his closet, yet as far as they open the door, they exhibit a prospect which it is pleasing to contemplate. They show him a devout man, and one that feared God, and a believer in Jesus Christ as the Saviour of sinners ; they tell us that he appointed stated times for reflection and the scrutiny of his conduct and principles ; that he prayed for the influences of the Holy Spirit ; that he submitted piously to the dispensations of a divine providence ; that he would not follow a multitude to do evil ; that he esteemed religion in others, endea-

* The manuscripts here referred to are thus described by himself :

“ The three remaining Meditations on Friday, Saturday, and Sunday, being the remaining course of offices ; to which belongs a Book of Recollection, bound in leather.”

“ A rational account of the true Religion, or An History of it ; with a packet of notes belonging to it.”

“ Animadversions upon Spinoza”

There also remain “ Papers concerning Education,” and “ The Life of Mrs. Godolphin.”

voured to infuse it into his own family, and rejoiced at beholding the seed growing up to fruitfulness. His regard for public worship, and reverence for the holy communion, may also be clearly discerned in his journal. If it is difficult to gain much more knowledge than this concerning his religious opinions and conduct, yet his steps, as far as we have now traced them, are worthy of being followed, and may excite us, like him, *to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with our God.*

Mrs. Evelyn, who survived him nearly three years, died Feb. 9, 1709, and her remains were deposited near those of her husband in the family dormitory adjoining Wotton church. A white marble tablet records her character, by the following inscription :—"Mary Evelyn, the best daughter, wife, and mother, the most accomplished of women, beloved, esteemed, admired, and regretted, by all who knew her, is deposited in this stone coffin, according to her own desire, as near as could be to her dear husband, John Evelyn, with whom she lived almost three-score years, and survived not quite three, dying at London, the 9th of February, 1708-9, in the 74th year of her age."

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